

Christianissimus Christianandus

O R,

REASON
FOR THE
REDUCTION
OF
FRANCE

To a More

Christian State
IN
EUROPE.

By Marchimam Needham. *N. Needham* (1692)

Odimus Accipitrem quia semper vivit in Armis.

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Reason for the Reduction of *FRANCE*
to a more Christian State in *EUROPE*.

Section I.

Being an INTRODUCTION.

Certainly 'tis high time to think of making the Ministers of *France* better Christians, when 'tis apparent they have taken up the Principles of the *Common Enemy* of *Christendom*, and make his *Maxims* the Rules and the Measure of their Proceedings. *Absolute Power* at home, and *Universal Empire* abroad, is their Aim as well as the *Turks*; and seeing that by their actions all the Duties of Christianity are laid in the dirt, it were hard to determine under which of the Two *Christendom* would obtain Fairest Quarter, after an absolute Conquest. *For though France be owner of the better Faith, yet the other keep Faith better*; because all Travellers tell us the *Turk* counts it Religion to keep Word and Promise.

But (it seems) *France* may do any thing *Regnandi causa*, as we shall shew by and by, when we come to tell how little value is made of *Promises*, *Obligations*, *Alliances*, and the *Sacraments*. In these things they exceed the *Grand Seigneur*: but in matter and extent of *absolute Dominion* they are his Rivals, and aspiring to forestal him in his design upon *Europe*, to become sole Masters of a *Western*, as he is of the *Eastern Empire*. And why not? Why should not *Louis* the 14th have it now, as his Predecessor, *Charlemain*, had it heretofore? His great Ministers and Officers both Civil and Military, say, They have ample

Territories, and very populous, and a most numerous Nobility and Gentry ; as much courage as their ancestors, together with the advantage of being trained up either to actions of war, or warlike exercises : also the Situation of their Country, and the opportunity they have by it to invade their Neighbours upon all occasions ; the Fruitfulness of the Soil, the prodigious quantity of all sorts of Commodities, Manufactures, and other ways, with which they supply neighbouring Countries ; and lastly, the vast Revenues of their Kings, who governing of late without check or controul at home, are thereby the more able to oppress other States or Princes. They boast how *Charles* the Eighth frighted all other *Potentates*, by the surprizing Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples* : How they contended with the *Austrian* Family, when it had been rais'd on a sudden to a wondrous Grandeur, by the cession of innumerable Provinces, united in the person of *Charles* the Fifth ; and that their King *Francis I.* had like to have carried from him the *Imperial Crown*, having to that end engaged several of the *Electors* : but they forget to tell us, that when he had mist it, then to be revenged on the *Emperor*, and the other *Christian Princes*, he was the first that taught the *French Kings* the most *Christian trick* of making Leagues with the *Turks* ; for so he did with the Great *Solyman the Magnificent*, as you may read in my Lord *Herbert's History* of our *Henry* the Eighth : and God prosper'd him accordingly : for though he had several times the *Turks* assistance to carry on his Revengeful Designs, to the hazard of all *Christendom*, yet at last he was forc'd to yield to the victorious Arms of that *Emperour Charles*, who took him Prisoner, and made him buy his Peace at an extraordinary Rate. But yet his Son *Henry* the Second had better success, and would have extended his Dominions very far, had he not been prevented by a sudden, unfortunate Death, as did also his Successor, *Henry* the Third.

Then

Then came on his Successor, *Henry* the Fourth, and of him they boast, that he subdued Monsters of Factions at home, and afterwards revived that Monstrous Design of grasping all abroad : that having made good his Title to the Crown by the Success of his Arms, he bent all his thoughts upon a Project, vast in the extent of it, as extraordinary in the Nature of it, intending no less than to cast *Europe* into a new Model, and reduce all the Kingdoms and Common-wealths that were in his time, to a certain number, and to bring them into such bounds as he should think fit to prescribe to them ; but to reserve to himself a Portion so considerable, as to have enabled him, or at least his Successors, to grow up into that state of Universal Monarch, which had been first imagined by his Predecessor *Francis*. To this effect he had made choice of his Generals, and other great Officers, furnished his Arcenals with mighty Stores of Arms, and collected prodigious Sums of Mony into his Treasury ; and then all came to nothing by a suddain unexpected stroke, which was given him by the Hand of *Ravaillac*.

After him his son *Lewis* the 13th, Father of the present King, though, by reason of some domestick broyls and civil Wars, he was not at leisure to carry on the Project of his Predecessors, by employing that way the great Armory and Wealth which his Father had provided; yet still he had an Eye towards it; and *Cardinal Richelieu*, with the rest of his Ministers, finding that the House of *Austria* was very near bringing all *Germany* under their subjection, and after the Battle of *Prague* stood fair to carry away *Universal Empire* (the Darling of *France*) they hasten'd, with what speed they could, to put an end to Civil Dissentions, and having got quiet at Home, they being then courted by diverse *Princes*, for Assistance and Protection against the *Austrian* Family, were glad of the opportunity: reckoning, that under a shew of assisting weak Princes, they might at length take occasion to share with them
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in their Principalities, and by that means vastly increase their own Power : And so they did subdue new Provinces, and considerable Towns in *Spain, Italy, Germany,* and the *Low Countries* ; which at last made the Princes as jealous almost of him, as they had been before of the *Austrian* : So that to prevent farther mischief, they were content to sit down with their losses, rather than trust their *French Alliances* any longer. Which occasioned that great Treaty held at *Munster*, which ended in a general Peace, *An. 1648.*

Now before I proceed, give me leave, by the way, to make use of what is past in these few Observations, *viz.*

First, That had not *France* had a marvellous Wit, Courage and Fortune, it could never have born its Head above water in the midst of so many Waves and Tempests of Discord and Rebellion, as were raised during the Reigns of those *Kings*, and yet continue still in a condition after all, to maintain it self, and bid fair against its *Austrian Rival* for the mastery of a *General Dominion*.

Secondly, That in all Ages, as soon as their Intestine troubles have been over, they have still, out of a restless, warlike Humour, endeavour'd to incroach upon their Neighbours, and for enlarging their own Lordship, laid hold upon all opportunities to disturb Mankind; and they could never yet set any bounds to their Ambition.

Thirdly, That this Ambitious Humour of theirs, supported by the greatness of their Power, would long before this time have brought all *Europe* under Subjection, if their own Divisions and Private Quarrels had not from time to time put back their Designs for many years ; or had not their greatest Princes been cut off before they could have finished their intended work.

Fourthly, and lastly, as a consequence of the three former, That it was, and ever will be, the true Interest of all *Princes* to oppose the *French Designs* : or if they have at any time occasion to use them against other Oppressors,
yet

yet still to remember, *That no Oppression is like theirs*; and that they meditate it always, even in the midst of Friendships: and therefore that they are not to accept of their Assistance longer or further than meer necessity or publick utility requires it; but to cast them off as soon as the danger is over; as it was practised in the Peace of Passaw, in the time of *Henry the Second*, and that of *Munster*; in both which the *French* were prevented of further Progress by the Jealousie of their *Allies*. However, in all such occasions, they ever made acquisitions, and came off with great advantages.

In the Stories of such glorious Pranks of their Princes, it is that the *French Ministers* do pride and delight themselves; and to their Monarchs, when youthful, they propound them for imitation. To this end, it was the Care of *Cardinal Mazarine*, in the Minority of the King now regnant, to provide him an agreeable Tutor, that might form and fix in the mind of his Majesty, the greatest *Idea's* of Glory and Warlike Enterprizes. This was the Bishop of *Rodes* his first Governor, who, as soon as his young Master came to understand Letters, instead of diverting him with *Romances*, entertain'd him in reading the Lives and Actions of the greatest of his Predecessors; but above all, recommended to him the Story and Model of a great Prince, in the high Atchievements of his Grand-father, King *Henry the Fourth*; as may be seen in a Book of his, written to that purpose, which hath since been published.

This Prince, as well by his own *Genius*, as by the happy Success of his first Undertakings, hath relished such Instructions, and hath solely proposed to himself that Example for the Rule of his Actions. The History of that Great King hath been his most ordinary Study. He hath, in imitation of him, taken care to emaculate a vast Treasure, and settled a mighty Revenue, sought for Alliances abroad, and successively raised many most numerous Armies. It's evident therefore, That he acts upon the very same draughts; and

and that all we see at present are but the Old Projects of his Predecessors renew'd, and the Effects of those Impressions which he hath suck't in with his Milk. Do but read the Book call'd the *Memoirs* of *Henry* the 4th. with those of the President *Jeannin*, and of the Bishop of *Rodes*; and then conclude, that whatsoever his most Potent Grand-Father had conceiv'd in his Imaginations, this King intends to bring forth by the Power of his Armies; viz. A Wondrous Theatre of *Unchristian Glory*, planted upon a Mountainous heap of *Christian Skulls*, to amaze and terrify Mankind into an *Universal Slavery*. For, as the desire of *Glory* hath no bounds, and in regard his Years and present Condition put him into a capacity to run a longer course than did *Henry le Grand*, so we cannot reasonably expect otherwise than that he, who hath so often crossed the *Rhine* with his last Summer's successes, will also, when he hath overrun the *Continent*, cross the *Narrow Seas* to make his Visits.

His Pen-men have taken a great deal of Pains to nourish these Thoughts in him, and have no other study but to feed this Natural Humour of his Majesty, and transfuse it also into his Son the *Dauphin*, having wholly sacrificed their Pens to infuse it, and tickle that Native desire of *Glory*, which they have discover'd in them both. The great rewards that have been given them for it, are authentick marks of an acceptance of their Service: and surely such acknowledgments from a young High Spirit, that believeth himself to be in a posture to execute all that pleaseth him, and who hath drunk down this Maxim, *That to take possession by the Sword, any Title is sufficient*, must needs be a dangerous fore-running Sentence upon all the rest of Mankind, against whom his Ministers shall perswade him that he hath any thing to pretend. Which yet more clearly to make appear to Us, We only need read the printed Books not long since dedicated to him; among which is one that carries this Title, viz. *The Just Pretences of the King of France to the Empire*; which Book having laid down this
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for a Ground, *That the Dominions of Sovereign Princes have always been the Dominions and Conquests of their Estates: and that the Dominions and Conquests of Crowns can be neither alienated nor prescribed; at length draws out these two Conclusions:*

First, *That the greatest part of Germany is the Patrimony and ancient Inheritance of the French Princes.*

Secondly, *That Charlemain did possess Germany, as King of France, and not as Emperour.*

What may not be drawn from such kind of Assertions ?

—*Nihil est quod credere de se*

Ambitio laudata nequit—

If these things be believ'd in *France*, what may not the Scribes of *France* persuade their Master ? May they not as well prove and persuade him, *That he wears the Titles of other Princes within the Pomel of his Sword* ? If one may judge of what is to come by what is past, all *Europe* will have cause enough to stand upon their guard, and take the Alarm, to prevent the Machinations of the *French Ministry*, whose sole business 'tis, To blow up the Glory of their Master to a mighty Bubble ; and 'tis indeed no more but a Bubble which he gets ; he is at the Expence, whilst they collect for themselves mighty Fortunes out of the Ruines of Mankind, and seed the *Marshals* and other Great *Military Commanders*, with Expectations of sharing other Princes Principalities, and, as fast as they can conquer, to be all made Princes.

SECTION II.

Shewing how far the French Ministers receded from the known Rules of Justice, in beginning this War.

HISTORIES tell us, That the Heathens made it a main point of Conscience, never to begin a War upon their Neighbours or others, till they had for it good *Justifying Causes*.

Causes. Among them, for this Principle the *Romans* were most eminent; and therefore such *Causes* they in their Language termed *Principia*; that is to say, *Beginnings* or *Principles*, intimating thereby that no War could be well begun without them, nor luckily end. Thus, in *Livy*, said the *Rhodian* Ambassadors in their Oration made to the Senate of *Rome*; *Certe quidem vos estis Romani*, &c. Certainly, ye are *Romans* indeed, in regard ye place your Glory in this, that ye expect your Wars should prove successful, because ye take care that they be just in the *Causes* of them, and that ye look to the *Principia*, the *Beginnings* of them, that they be not without cause undertaken, rather than to a victorious event of them. Much might be said to this point out of *Cicero*, and others that write of these Laws universally received among Nations; but, to be short, Writers on that subject, do generally determine, that the just *Causes* of War are reducible to the three following Heads.

1. That it be undertaken for Defence. Or,
2. For Recovery of what hath been taken away. Or,
3. To punish for Injuries done.

Some one of these ought to be the Ingredient in the beginning of a War, else it cannot have a just cause.

Now therefore let us examine the *French* War by these Rules. We may remember when it first began, the World was very much at Peace, and *France* so much before-hand in power and greatness above other Nations, that it needed not to fear any of its Neighbours, and consequently it had no necessity upon it, nor occasion for self-defence.

Again, the Crown of *France* was then so far from having been robbed by any other Nation, that it had aggrandized it self above all proportion by the spoils that it had made of many Nations; nor was any of the Neighbour Nations in other State and Condition in respect of *French* Power, than as the Lark under the Hobby, not daring so much as to stir, but was glad to couch and lie lie close under all the Oppressions and Rapines that had been

been praised upon them by the *French*. It were too tedious here to recite their Actions in their Neighbours Countrys for Evidence, being notorious to the World and to be collected anon out of our ensuing Discourse.

Moreover, the *French* were so far from having any cause to make War to punish any for Injuries done, that having been in that respect also beforehand with their Neighbours, most other *Princes* had then abundant Reason, and much more now to complain against Injuries of the highest nature acted upon them, and to punish them with such Revenges as are due to the *Common Enemies* and Disturbers of Mankind.

And truly, we may well take it for a kind of tacite confession that they had no just cause nor occasion for beginning the present War, seeing that in a *Declaration* consisting of a very few Lines, which the *French Ministers* did put forth in the Name of their King before the Invading of the *United Provinces*, there is not the least mention made of any cause, save that it was for their *King's Glory*; because forsooth the *Hollander* had (but we were not told how) *detraffed from his Glory, and the Glory of his Ancestors*. Not a word of any other cause, nor of the *Glory of God*, whose Work it is usually to powr shame and contempt in the end upon all such *Glory*.

There is also another Point which of old hath been in Use, and that is a *Denunciation of War* before the Beginning of it. *Collegium Fecialium*, a Colledge of *Heralds* was instituted in old *Rome*, without whose Advice, as the *Roman Senate* never made War, so having first referred it to them to consider of the Justice of their Undertaking; if they determined the Justice of it, then one of the same Colledge was sent to the Enemy before any act of Hostility on their part, to denounce it. So *Cicero*, in his first Book of Offices, *Belli quidem æquitas sanctissimè Feciali Populi Romani jure præscripta est*; That is to say, *The equity of any War was most religiously determined according to the Law*

of the Colledge of Herald's : And they had certain Laws in that Colledge which were called *Jura Fecialia*, by which they judged of the Justness of every War before they entred upon it ; and when Wars were denounced, they were called *Promulgata Prælia* : For Justice being removed, what are Wars but Grand Robberies and Murtherous Executions ? Thus conscientiously and solemnly preceeded meer *Heathens* heretofore ; and shall they not then rise up in Judgment hereafter against such *French Christians* ? for, their Ministers not minding Right or Wrong, thought it better to begin this War by way of surprize upon the *Dutch Republick*, reckoning it a surer way first to get possession, and afterwards to leave it to the Scrupulous Criticks of Law and Conscience to write and dispute about the Justice of the Work : No matter whether it were righteous, as long as it was in their sense, and by custom become a Glorious Atchievement, to invade on a sudden and oppress their Neighbours, having before given the World a proof of this good quality, by surprizing the Dominions of *Flanders, Lorraine, Sicily*, and many other Countries.

These things being said, and known too notorious to be denied, I suppose none can deny, That the Rise of this War was against all the just Rules of Warlike undertaking. And all that they, or any body else, can have to say in excuse of them is, That they are born under a necessity of giving trouble to all the rest of the World, in order to the preservation of themselves at Home; for if Wars were not found out for them abroad to entertain and exercise their Young Nobility at the expence of their Neighbours, *France* alone would be too little to supply them. In truth the *Genius* of the Nation is such, that it cannot endure to live long in the idleness of Peace. They are of a Nature so hot, that there must be Aliment for this Fire; and if some were not given it from abroad, it would form to it self matter at Home.

To this Natural propension must be added the Customs
of

of most part of their Provinces, and the particular Dispositions of Noble Families, which give so great Advantages to the Elder Brothers, that they leave nothing almost to the Younger but their Industry and Sword: And whereas they rarely betake themselves to Letters to obtain a Livelihood, and their Quality suffers them not to apply themselves to Mechanick Trades, there is nothing left to them but their legitimated Robbery of War, or common Robbery, to preserve themselves from want and poverty. From hence it comes to pass, that their Kingdoms always finds it self filled with an idle and boyling Youth, ready to undertake any thing, and who seek Employments for their Valour, at whose cost soever it be. This Liberty which they had heretofore to void this pernicious humour in *Duelling*, is at present taken from them by wholsom Decrees of their King; so that did not his Ministers find out a Foreign vent for their Spleens, by which they might evaporate, the flame would ever be breaking forth within their own Bowels.

Moreover, as the greatest Revenues of the Crown of *France* rise out of the purse of the people, so because the Common Contribution cannot be exacted in times of Peace, without making a great many *Male-contents*; 'tis always necessary to feed and fume the Airy multitude with the smoak of some Conquests, wherein they also are apt to Glory, though they (poor creatures!) get no more by the chaining of Neighbour Nations, but to have more Fellow-Slaves, and to have their own Fetters set the harder on, and fastened the firmer at their heels. To which end the Grandees are always coining pretences of Quarrel to continue in Arms, and maintain by Force that Royal Authority, which hath so strangely overflown the limits of their Fundamental Laws. It is otherwise impossible to satisfie all the Princes and Great Men of the Realm, though the Princes are nothing so numerous now as they were in the times of *Henry* the Third and Fourth: since which they have

have taken it up as a principal Policy to diminish the Princes as fast as they can. That is one course; and another is, always to hold them employed in Foreign Wars; and to incite them unto Glory, that they may be consumed ere long in ruinous undertakings, to the consumption of their own as well as other Nations. The Platform of which Device was first laid, and in part effected by *Cardinal Richelieu*, and in a great measure completed by *Mazarin*, his Successor in the Grand Ministry of State. So that you see how they observe the Rules of Justice, whether they deal with their own Princes and People, or with Foreigners, be it by the way of War or Peace; making havock of all Mankind without Remorse, to greaten a few of themselves: and that their King may be spur'd to drive furiously on, they have given his Fancy a fair prospect of an imaginary Throne of Glory at his Journey's end, on which they promise to place and elevate him above Petty Monarchs, as sole *Monarch* and *Emperour* of the Christian Universe.

SECTION III.

Proving, That as they have observed no Rule of Justice in making War, so they have had little regard to it in observing Peace when made.

I Would not make thus bold with *France*, were it not that there is a necessity for it. It is no time now to be mealy-mouth'd (as we phrase it) but to speak out, seeing All that is ours is involv'd in the common Fate of *Europe*, and our cause cannot but be just, because we have had patience, and tried all manner of fair means to induce the *French* Ministers to grant a Peace, and we have born their Injuries to the utmost; among which this hath been no small one. That under pretence of allowing our King the Christian office of a fair Mediatorship, they have at length by going

at the same time to ravish the rest of *Flanders*; thereby shewn plainly to all the World, that their intent was merely to delude and abuse us.

In handling this subject, it is our concern to evidence how they have violated the Law of Nations, which is common to all, and to prevent the introducing of such *Maxims* into the World, as would destroy the whole Commerce of Mankind, and render Humane Societies as dangerous as the company of Lions and Tygers. We are also no less concerned, to defend the Publick Faith of Treaties against their *Finesses*, and subtle Evasions, to preserve the *Law of Arms* within the Rules and Formalities which the Consent of all Nations hath established; and to remove out of the sight of *Christendom* such scandalous Examples, which by lamentable consequences would expose the weaker to the Will and Pleasure of the stronger, and would establish *Force the sole Arbitrer* of all proceedings. We are to meditate such courses and means, as may stop a rapid Torrent against the impetuosity whereof neither Peace, Marriage, Oaths, Blood, Kindred, Friendship, nor Condescension, can be Banks strong enough to keep it within its Channel. It is to our purpose to defend the Common Interest of all States and Princes, against a vast Design, which hath for its Cause nothing but a Predominant Desire of Conquests; for its End, Dominion; for its Means, Arms and Intricacies; nor for its Limits any thing but what Chance will prescribe.

In a word, it's our Business now to decide the Fortune of *Europe*, and to pronounce the Sentence either of its Freedom or Slavery; for betwixt these two, no *Middle State* can be attain'd, no Peace be assured. Other Princes must (as long as they can) oppose *France* to preserve themselves free; because *France* will never be at rest, till She hath hung about their Necks the *Troak of Conquest*: And if she should hearken in the mean time to a *Pacification*, know that you are not to enjoy it longer than She, by gaining of time to form fresh Counsels into new Designs, thinks fit to make a new

Rupture,

Rapture, and fall in upon you on a sudden like a mighty Tempest. The *French Faith* hath of late years been pure *Panick*; no sooner given, but as soon broken; and She by tampering with other Princes Ministers and Subjects, instructs them how to menage their Faith in point of Truth to best advantage, and by a Metal of her own, tries what Metal they are made of e're she deals with their Masters; and with this sort of white Powder, which does execution without noise, shoots down more Castles, Cittadels and Forts, and takes in more Towns than all the roaring of her Cannon. It hath been observed, That when her Ambassadors go abroad, they carry along with them the principal Engines, or else they are sent after them. The truth of this hath been too notorious to the Emperour at *Vienna*, and in *Sweden, Poland, Hungary, Hanover, Bavaria, Munster*, and other places of the *Empire*; so that an Ambassadors, or an Agent, usually goes before the Army, and a Conquest follows; which is a new way to Glory, unknown to *Cæsar*, or any of the dull *Roman Conquerors*. But against an Enemy any thing now is glorious;

— *An dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*

And if this course of corrupting other Mens Faith be a Vertue, 'tis no wonder She can so readily, without straining, quit her own, by a quick discharge of all Agreements and Obligations. Old *Nicholas the Florentine*, saith, *Rattles were invented to please Children, and Oaths Men*: That is to say, to make Men meer Children.

But the best way to satisfy the World about this matter, will be to give a brief Account of the conduct and carriage of the *French Court*, since the Ministers which are now in Employ there appear'd upon the Stage; who are not likely to relinquish those Methods which they were bred up in, nor to act upon any other principles than those that were taught them in the School of their two *Cardinal-Masters*; Of the latter of them, *Mazarin*, it is reported by many, that upon several occasions he had been heard to say, That
it

it was a meanness in a Man of State-employment to be
Esclave de sa Parole, A Slave to his Word.

We are not to seek for Instances, how he and his Disci-
ples have practised accordingly to this very day. Let us
look back as far as that grand Treaty betwixt *France* and
Spain, called the *Pyrenean Treaty*, the occasion whereof
was this, —By the Mediation of the *Queen-Mother of*
France, a Peace was set on foot betwixt that Crown and
Spain; with a proposition of Marriage between this King
her Son, and the Lady *Infanta of Spain*: The ends of it
were alledged to be,

A Desire to give ease and quiet to their Subjects.

To put a period to the many mischievous Consequents of
the War.

To forget and extinguish all the Causes and Motives of the
Wars past; and to establish a sincere, entire, and dura-
ble Peace betwixt them and their Successors.

The Treaty being begun, it was grounded upon two
principal particulars; and unless the *French* would grant
those, the *Spaniard* was resolved not to proceed in it. The
one was, That the *French* should forsake their adherence 'to
Portugal. The other was, That the *Infanta* should, upon
the Marriage, make a *Renunciation* (confirmed and ratified
by the *French King*) of all her Pretences, Titles, or Claims
whatsoever to the *Spanish Monarchy*, and all the Dominions
thereof, or to any part of the same. And the Reason of
it in the Draught of the Treaty is set down in these words;
Lest the glory of their respective Kingdoms should happen to
decay and be diminished, if through the said Marriage, they
should come to be united and conjoynd in any of their Children
or Posterity; which might occasion to the Subjects such trou-
bles and afflictions as may easily be imagined.

Next, as to the Exclusion and abandoning of *Portugal*,
the *French King* obliged himself to it in these words: *His*
said Majesty of France will intermeddle no further in the said
Business, and doth promise and oblige himself upon his Honour,

and upon the Faith and word of a King, both for himself and his Successors, not to give to any Person or Persons thereof, of what Dignity, Estate or Condition whatsoever, either at present, or in the future, any help or assistance, neither publick nor secret, directly nor indirectly, of Men, Arms, Munitions, Victualling, Mestels, nor Money, under any pretence; nor any other thing whatsoever, by Land or by Sea, nor in any other manner: as likewise not to suffer any Levies to be made in any part of his Kingdom and Dominions; nor to grant a passage to any that might come from other Countries, to the relief of the said Kingdom of Portugal.

Now, can any imagin more cautious and efficacious words in a Treaty, to prevent a further assistance from France to Portugal, which was the main thing that the Spaniard sought for by this Marriage? Yet as soon as the Treaty was penned, and before the Instrument was signed, the most Eminent Mazarin, sent privately the Marquis of Chenes into Portugal, to assure the Portuguese, That notwithstanding he could not avoid the putting such words in the Treaty, in order to the Conclusion of it, as did engage France not to assist them, howsoever they might rest assured, his Master would never forsake them, but would continue to them an assistance as much as before.

For the more full clearing of this matter, viz. That an abandoning of Portugal was one of the essential Foundations of that Peace, and that otherwise it could never have been treated of, nor concluded; take notice that in the 60th Article of the said Treaty you may find these words: [Forasmuch as we have foreseen and apprehended, that such an Engagement might have been an obstacle not to be surmounted in the concluding of this Peace, and by consequence would have reduced the two Kings to a necessity of perpetuating the War, &c.]

And a little after, in the same Article, it is further expressed thus, [Finally, in contemplation of the Peace, and seeing the absolute necessity wherein his most Christian Majesty finds him-

himself, either to perpetuate the War by a Rupture of the present Treaty, which he perceives to be inevitable, in case he should have persisted to obtain from his Catholick Majesty in this Affair, other conditions than those which he had offered, &c.]

Moreover, by the same Article it is evident, That whereas the French King offered then to the King of Spain, to make restitution of all the Places which France had gotten from him by Arms during the War, rather than he would have been by Treaty obliged to forbear a further assisting the Portuguese, the Spaniard utterly refused this Offer, as is apparent by other words of the same Article, as they follow:

[Offering, besides the Places which are to be restored unto his Catholick Majesty by the present Treaty, to render unto him also all the other Conquests in general which his said Arms have made in this War, and entirely to restore the Prince of Conde; provided, and upon condition, that the affairs of the Kingdom of Portugal should remain in the State in which at present they are.]

Tis likewise out of controversy, that this abandoning of Portugal was covenanted and promised by France, so authentically, and in such clear and special Terms, that it is not to be questioned, nor be made subject to any Interpretations contrary to the true sense and intention of the Parties contracting; the terms whereof are these: [His said Majesty shall meddle no more with the said Affair, and doth promise and oblige himself upon his Honour, and in the Faith and Word of a King, for himself and his Successors, not to give unto the aforementioned Kingdom of Portugal, neither in general, nor to any person or persons of it in particular, of what Dignity, Estate or Condition soever they may be, neither for the present, nor hereafter, any aid or assistance, publick or secret, directly or indirectly, of Men, Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Ships, or Moneys, under any pretext; nor of any other thing that is or can be, by Land or by Sea, nor in any other fashion: As likewise, not to permit that any Levies shall be made

in any of his most Christian Majestys Kingdoms and Estates, nor grant free passage to those which may come out of other Countries, to the help of the aforesaid Realm of Portugal.]

Nevertheless 'tis evident, that they immediately failed in every point and circumstance of this Promise, insomuch that as in the very time of the publick making of the said Treaty, they were privately tampering with the *Portuguese*, and gave them under hand Assurances; so at the concluding of it, the Bon-fires which were every where kindled for joy of the Peace, were not quite extinguish'd, when an evident Breach of the Treaty was observed, in the *French* sending Auxiliary Forces into *Portugal*; at the beginning under the Name of *Mareschal Tureine* divers Troops were raised and convey'd into *Portugal* with Arms and Ammunition; as if *Tureine* durst have presumed to do such a thing, without the privy and consent of the Prime Ministers: And when the *Spaniard* by his Ambassadour complained of this, they deluded him, by issuing forth publick Orders to the Governours of their Ports, that no Souldiers, or Arms, &c. should be suffered to imbarque for *Portugal*: But those Governours better understood their private Lesson, and so let them pass by connivance. But at length they began to act openly, and notwithstanding the Treaty they had made with *Spain*, they entred into an Offensive League with *Portugal* against all its Enemies; in which the *French* had so well provided for themselves, that by Agreement they were to have all the Sea-Towns delivered to them which should be taken from the *Spaniard*.

The truth of these things was not only manifest in Fact, but it was also testified by Letters, which the Ministers of *Spain* had intercepted, that after the Peace made betwixt the two Crowns, the Court of *France* had fomented the War of the *Portuguese*, hindred them from those advantageous Conditions which *Spain* had offered them; animating them by a hope of mighty Succours, not for their defence, but also for carrying offensive War into the very heart of *Spain*.

Among

Among these were many of those that had been written by the French Minister Monsieur de *Lyonne*, and the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, to Monsieur de *Schomberg*, which proved the continual correspondence that was betwixt them for the direction of that War. And to promote it, 'tis known that in 1672. the Duke of *Beaufort* came with his whole Fleet upon the Coasts of *Portugal*, where he spent a part of the Summer, to secure a passage of Victuals and Ammunition, whereof the *Portuguese* were in extreme want; and this at the same time when they were offering *Spain* their Mediation to make an Accommodation with *Portugal*. Not to omit how one of the Prime French Ministers, Monsieur *Colbert*, privately made several Voyages thither to encourage them, and contract a more strict Alliance with them, and to open a way for the bringing about a League Offensive: Which in some time after was concluded with the *Portuguese*, with these following Conditions; [*That they shall be the Friends of their Friends, and the Enemies of their Enemies, excepting England. That France shall furnish them with as many Men as they need, to carry on an Offensive War in Spain both by Sea and Land; Shall advance to them by way of Loan the half of their pay, for the entertainment of Auxiliary Troops; and that they shall furnish them every Year under the same title of Loan, with the Sum of three hundred thousand Crowns. That all the Ports which they shall take in Spain, either upon the one or the other Sea, shall be put into the power of France. That they shall not treat either of Peace or Truce, without common Consent. And that this League shall last for the space of ten Years.*]

By these particulars it is apparent, how little credit is to be given to *France*, in the most solemn Engagements that She can make to any Prince, about any matter whatsoever. For, that a Treaty managed in order to a Marriage between Princes, (which is one of the most Solemn Subjects that can be handled among Men) and confirmed by Oath, with the most Sacred Mysteries of their Religion at the

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High Altar, for a Punctual observation, should be thus palpably broken, is not to be parallell'd by any Instance or Example in all the World beside. But 'tis not in this Business of *Portugal* alone that a Breach was made; that which is more considerable is, That as soon as the *French* saw Opportunity, after the Death of the late King of *Spain*, they started up a Claim for their King, in the Right and Behalf of his Wife the *Infanta*, notwithstanding her Solemn *Renunciation* formerly mentioned, which was entred into the Body of the Treaty, and as sacredly sworn to; pretending that a great part of the *Spanish Low-Countries* was devolved to him in her Right; by the *Municipal Laws* of those Countries; whereas 'tis known, that when Princes enter into a Treaty, it is regulated and confirmed according to the *Law of Nations* common to all; and being so to be understood; it is ridiculous among *Civilians*, to imagine that a Consideration of *Laws Municipal*, or Customs, belonging to any particular Country under the Dominion of either of the Treating Princes, can intervene or be admitted afterwards to the overthrowing of the Treaty, or the depriving either of the Parties of the Benefit and Security which he hath thereby: It is a thing not to be named among States-men. For without the *Renunciation*, the Treaty had never been agreed on; and it was so carefully penned, as if a Grand Council of Civil Lawyers had been called to out-do all former Expressions used in such Contracts, and to find out new binding Clauses, to take off all possibility of Evasion: And yet against the very Sense and End of that *Renunciation*, the *French* (as all men know) under that so slight pretence of a Claim, fell foul on a sudden upon *Flanders* and other parts with their Army; which was their *First Invasion* upon those Countries after that Treaty.

But 'tis further observable, That this *Invasion*, so contrary to the *French* Engagements, and so destructive of the very Essence of the aforesaid *Pyrenean Treaty*, was attended with some Circumstances no less surprizing than the

Breach

Breach itself. The one was that which passed at *Paris* between the *Marquis de la Fuentes*, Ambassadour Extraordinary of *Spain*, and the *French King*. And the other was what the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, Ambassadour of *France* in the Court of *Spain*, declared there in his Masters Name.

As to the first, *Fuentes* having received a call home to *Spain*, and being jealous that the great Preparations then made in *France* were intended against the *Spanish* Dominions, he thought fit to press the *French King*, to give his Mistress the *Queen-Regent* of *Spain* some new assurances, that might quiet and settle her Mind against the many strange Reports of his intended Preparations. Thereupon, that King did with all possible Assèveration engage His Royal Word and Faith, that he would religiously keep the Peace, and continue an entire Amity to her and the Young King her Son.

As to the second, note that whereas not long after, the *French Army* took the Field, and had possessed it self of *Charleroy*, about four or five days before the News could arrive at *Madrid*: yet the said Archbishop of *Ambrun*, being expostulated with about it, did *in verbo Sacerdotis*, and upon all that is most sacred among *Roman Catholicks*, protest and vow to the *Queen-Regent*, that his Master intended nothing less than what was reported of him. And that he knew he would never break with the King of *Spain*, nor invade any of his Dominions, as long as he was *Under Age*.

— *Sic sœvis inter se convenit Urbs.*

Oh, how well do the *French Ministers* and their Ambassadors agree with one another, to effect their Masters business and their own! For, it was not many days after this, that News was brought to the *Spanish Court* how fairly the *French* had kept their word, having entered and practised all manner of Hostilities upon *Flanders*, firing many considerable Towns, and wasting the Countrey, proceeding so outrageously, and so far, that *England* and the Neighbour Princes taking the Alarm, and expostulating the mat-

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ter with *France*, it brought on another Treaty, which was held at *Aken*, i. e. *Aix la Chappelle*, to make a new agreement betwixt *France* and *Spain*; about the Observation whereof we have afforded us another Instance of the French Fidelity.

Unto this Treaty all the Princes of *Christendom* were invited, to take care of the common Security; and his Majesty of *England* among the rest, who sent also a Minister to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to invite them into the Guaranty of the said Treaty of *Aix*. Proposals also were made to the Duke of *Lorain*, and several other Princes, to come into the League then to be made, to which the *Lorainer* immediately accorded, hoping that by this Treaty he might have better luck with the French, than he formerly had with them by the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

But before we proceed, it will not be amiss to remember you, How the *French* kept Faith with this poor Prince, whose Interests had been provided for by the said Treaty, as well as those of *Spain* and his Dutchy to be restored to him, with all the Places and Towns which he had been possessed of within the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. But see how *France* dealt with him: They deferr'd as long as they could the performance of that part which related to the said Duke, and refused still to return him his Country, till they had brought him to make another Treaty with them in prejudice of the former; whereby he was forced to part with several considerable Places, over and above what had been granted to them by the *General Peace*. And yet this would not serve their turn: For, after the oppressed Duke had enjoy'd a Year and a half but a very unsettled possession, during which, under several artificial unjust pretences, new Quarrels were pick't every day, they with a considerable Army constrained him to give them his Town of *Marsal*.

Moreover, it was but a little time after this, that they fell to teasing him again, compelling him to sign a New Treaty

Treaty more disadvantageous to him than the two former, and yet (so insatiable is their Appetite after *Dominion*) the unhappy *Duke* could, as little as before, obtain a quiet enjoyment of that little they had left him. They every day encroached upon his Jurisdiction, the limits of his Territories, and his Sovereignty it self. They imposed grievous Taxes upon his Subjects. They caused him to disband his Forces, and to raise new Men again, as they thought fit. They kept him from revenging his own Quarrels, to take part in others. They let loose all his Enemies against him, and stopped the progress of his Armies, as soon as he had got the least Advantage: And in few words, he was at that time more a Vassal to *France* than a Sovereign in his own Country, But yet all this would not satisfy the *French Court*; they must have all again: wherefore the *Duke* by many Circumstances shewing how ill he brook't this kind of unreasonable usage, They ordered one of their Generals to surprize and seize his Person, and to bring him either dead or alive: Of which intended violence having had timely notice, he escaped when it was very near being effected. Which (as one very well observed) is a new way of dealing with a Sovereign Prince, not known before in these parts of the World; and it may teach all other Princes what to trust to in treating, and what to expect from such monstrous Neighbours: And it gives us some hope, that we may e're long live to see the West govern'd by Balhaws as well as the East.

No other thing could give us a better In-sight into the Ambition and Pride, nor more fully discover the Intent and Design of *France*. None but an *Universal Monarch* can pretend to an Arbitrary displacing of Princes, and a disposing of their Liberty, Lives and Territories.— Thus you see how perfidiously they dealt with the *Duke of Lorain*.

But to return to the Treaty of *Aix*. It proved to be of little avail to that *Duke*. For, they have since seiz'd his Country again, and driven him out to seek his Fortune;

and this (as men say) for no other Reason, but because he hoped by this Treaty to have confirmed himself among his Allies in a better State of Security than he had hitherto been. And as for the Court of *Spain*, the *French* also resolv'd to defeat their Expectation of benefit by this Treaty: for contrary to it, they presently set to work; First they dismantled all the strong Places and Holds of the Country of *Burgundy*, carried away all the Munitions out of it, and would have spoiled the rich Salt-pits of that Province, had not the Powerful interposition both of *England* and *Scotland* Prevented that Spoil.

In despite also of that Treaty, they exacted great Contributions from the Dutchies of *Limbourg* and *Luxembourg*. They laid a new Claim to some Towns, as important as any of those that were granted to them by the Peace. They confiscated the Estates of the Subjects of the King of *Spain* that would not forswear their Allegiance, and spared not the very Royal House of *Mary Mont.* Nay, as if these Infractions were not enough, and still to encroach as far as they were able, they forced their way with great quantities of Merchandise through the *Spanish* Territories, without paying the Customs, and not long after endeavour'd to surprize the Town of *Hainaut*. In a word, they did whatever they pleas'd, plunder'd even the most Sacred Places, and acted whatever can be imagined to be done without remorse by insolent and unconscionable men.

But to Proceed; it must not be forgotten, How under a pretence of advancing the Affairs of *Poland*, and settling an Amity there they contriv'd a Marriage for that King with a Lady of *France*; by which means they were enabled to send thither along with her in her Train, so many expert Instruments of mischief, that immediately settled a Cabal with such Intrigues, as in a short time inflamed the Nobility of that Kingdom into heats and Factions against one another, which are never likely to be extinguish'd; and at that time they operated so far, that that King soon became

willing

willing to quit the Kingdom; and thereupon the *Turk* seeing the great Divisions that were wrought among them, was easily invited in by the *French Cabal*, merely because they could not bring in a King that was of *French Blood*, or of *French Interest*, at the following Election. Add also to this, That one of the greatest Motives of their latching in the *Turk*, was, that their New King contracted Marriage with the *Emperour's* Sister; which Princess being now a Widdow, is shortly to be married to the Duke of *Lorraine*.

It is worth the while also to remember how finely they used the Duke of *Newbourg* while they trained him on to engage the greatest part of his Estate, almost beyond redemption, in hopes of getting the *Polish* Crown, which they had promised to procure for him by the help of a strong Party which they had made in that Kingdom. Yet under-hand, and contrary to their Treaties, as well with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as with himself, and to their iterated Promises and Vows, both by word of Mouth, and in Writing, they did by their Creatures and Agents oppose the said Duke's pretensions, and endeavoured with all Industry to have gotten the Prince of *Condé* preferred before all his Competitors: a particular Account whereof would, if published, without any other Instance, be a sufficient warning to all other Princes, and afford them a perfect Character of the *French Court*.

But 'tis remarkable, That it is not with Princes alone that they thus finely deal; but they observe also just the same measure of Faith toward such Rebels and Traytors of their making, as they have gained for Money, to betray the Concerns of their own Country, by serving the Intrigues and Interests of *France*. For, when after the beginning of this War, they saw the *Emperour* setting himself in good earnest to assist the *Dutch*, others to dissuade and divert him from his purpose, and to engage him (if it had been possible) not to concern himself or take part in the Quarrel, they very fairly offer'd him to deliver into his hands all the Ori-

ginal Letters and Papers they had received from time to time from their bribed Friends and Creatures in *Poland*; to the end that both his *Imperial Majesty*, and his Brother-in-Law the King of *Poland*, might take what course they thought fit with those Traitors. Which handsome Story may serve as a Warning and Fright to all those that prefer *French Money* before their Loyalty, and the true Interests of their Country. And truly, this piece of Infidelity in the *French* is the only Piece of Justice that I find them guilty of, in the menagement of Affairs with their Friends and Correspondents.

But withal I find, that this piece of their kindness to his *Imperial Majesty*, was to make him amends for another prank of Treachery that had been plaid him a while before. For the *most Christian Ministers* pretending a courtesie to assist him against the *Turk*, and accordingly having sent Forces to joyn with the *Imperial Army*, they at the very same time began to settle a Correspondence with the Count *Serini*, *Franchipani*, *Nadasti*, and *Tottenbach*; as did afterwards appear upon the breaking out of the Conspiracy, when the Depositions and Confessions of some of the Accomplices were produced, who had been instrumental in carrying both Monies and Letters from the *French Ministers* resident at *Vienna*, to the said Conspirators.

Next, let us have recourse to the *Swedes*, and examine whether they, having been many years their very good Friends and humble Servants, have had better luck in treating with them than others, in point of dealing. But surely *Sweden* cannot forget, that almost 20 Years ago they had occasion to make a Treaty with them, whereby they were to receive by way of Gratuity or Pension 1600000 Crowns. Nevertheless, upon second thoughts, the *French* finding their Treaty with *Sweden* to be but of little use to them at that time, refused to ratifie it, and sent Monsieur *de Trelow* his Ambassador to them, to tell them in short. That the King his Master declared it to be void. Which is a fine Court-
style

file for one Prince to use to another in Treating; and a tart, short, Majestick way of rescinding Treaties.

It were both needless and tedious to tell, how well they have observed their Treaties with *Holland*, seeing they cannot so much as assign the least Cause of the War they now make against them, forasmuch as in their Declaration they told us only of a *Mauvaise satisfaction*, and that they were ill pleased; and that it would tend to a diminution of the Glory of the *most Christian King*, unless to please himself he put all *Europe* in a Flame, and endeavour to bring all under his subjection.

It is pleasant likewise to observe, how they practised their Art also upon that notable Fox the Bishop of *Munster*, how they not only lurch't him during his Contest with the *United Provinces*, but their *French Troops* fell also upon him, and indangered the loss of his Country. How they another time brought him about to lurch us in *England*, by reducing him to a necessity of separating from our Interest, after he had received assistance from us in a good Sum of Money. How they hindred the *Swedes* from arming in our favour, and sway'd *Denmark* from our Party during our War with the *Dutch*, even at the same time when *France* seem'd to forward and favour us against *Holland*; and it hath been often published, that they then spurr'd on the *Dutch*, and were in with them in the contrivance of that Affront which they did us in the River of *Thames*; thereby reckoning, that so severe an exasperation would necessarily follow in our Minds against *Holland*, as might render us irreconcilable to them, and engage us in War so long, till we should waste and wear out one another's Men and Shipping, that we might at last be the less able to oppose *France*, who was at that time meditating and forming such a mighty Advance of her own Naval Power, as might inable her to contend against us both, when we should see it our Interest to unite against her hereafter. And the truth is, the *French Ministers* did herein act according to a right understanding of their own

own Business. For they did and do very well know, that in order to the main End of grasping, All they ought to dread nothing more than a durable and firm Friendship between us and the *United Provinces*, as that alone that can set bounds to their Ambition, and redeem *Europe* from that *Yoke* which they are forming and devising how to put about our Necks. Therefore it was dexterously done of them to find out a fine Artifice of Treachery to delude us both, and to spin out that War. For in the very heat of the War, they kept Negotiations stirring, both in *England* and at the *Hague*; put on a disguise of *Mediation*, pretending to make us Friends; and to that purpose made Overtures and Proposals of Peace. It might be told who were said to be the Instruments on both sides, and to push on this project of delusion upon us so far, that we in *England* were assured by the *French*, that the *Dutch* were so well inclin'd to Peace, that for that time they meant to lay up their Men of War; but then afterwards the *French* under-hand pressed the said *Dutch* with all vigour and earnestness imaginable against us, and to fit out their Men of War again, promising that rather than fail they would joyn theirs to them against us. It was upon a supposal the *French* were true to us at that time, in carrying on their pretended Proposals of Peace, that we were made secure, slackned our Preparations that Year; and so a surprise followed upon it; for the *Dutch* having been *lured* with a *French* Breeze in their Tails, danced after the Lesson they had set them, and so entered our River as high as *Exeter*; thus it was brought about, as Report went in those days. However, admit it should not be true that the *French* were the Authors of that Counsel, yet 'tis unquestionable, they knew of the Design ere the Attempt was made; it was their pretence of bringing about a Peace that rendred us secure, when indeed we had no Security but in War, or in a Peace of our own making Which may sufficiently instruct us at our own cost; what Security is to be expected from *French* Amity and Treaty. It was not

long

long after, that we began to see a Convenience of Peace; inasmuch that a Treaty was concluded accordingly; and whereas one Article was, That the French should restore unto us *Sr. Christophers*, in the same land and form therein expressed, notwithstanding they began again to abuse us, and instead of performing it according to the very letter and true meaning of the Article, they still from time to time upon several unjust and frivolous Pretences, put off his Majesties Commissioners that went to receive it, till seeing a necessity to comply with us in so small a matter, they after four years bawling, were pleased to deliver it. But this to be noted, That before the delivery of it, they destroy'd all the Plantations, plunder'd and carried away all that was portable; laid the whole Country waste, and left it in a worse condition than if it had been never planted. And as if the detaining of his Majesties Territories had not been sufficient, they interrupted the Trade of his Majesties Subjects in those parts: and assuming to themselves a Sovereignty in those Seas, they would not suffer any Ships but of their own Nation to sail by. On a bout their flagg'd, and upon no other Grounds proceeded so far as to bring in many Vessels as Prizes, and confiscate them. And thus we proceed. But is not in the West India Trade only that we have been thus abused? No, they have been many years, and still are, diminishing our Trade here at home. They design upon our Cloth Trade, and many of our most famous Manufactures by Mony tempting away the Makers of them to go and settle in France, and by this mean get their own People to be instructed in the making of the same. And in the mean while, to advance and encourage their own Manufacture; and cause ours to lie upon our own hands, when as we get the very heavy Impositions upon all *English* Cloth, Stuffs, &c. that are or shall be imported into France; so that is the ready way to blow up many of our Merchants, and most of our Manufactures, and undo thousands of poor people who depend upon them for a Subsistence by Work. No wonder

wonder then it hath been observed, That we do not of late send into *France* the Fourth or Fifth part of what Goods and Commodities we formerly sent over. Nay, I hear, That Monsieur *Colbert*, one of their principal Ministers, is at this very time consulting and advising with Merchants and others, to give our Trade a further diminution; while we (such is the fondness of our Nation) are bewitched with an affection of *French* Commodities, though but meer *Baubles* and *Gugans*, and though our own Workmen afterwards work better, and out-do them in the making of their own Inventions, yet (such is our base folly!) unless the Retailers of them do swear, and lie too, that they are *French*-made, there's no putting them off to advantage at a quick rate. Moreover, we must have all *French* about us; their Behaviour, their Fashions, their Garb in wearing them, their mean way of House-keeping (to the utter extinguishment of the Noble way of Old *English* Hospitality) their needy men for Servants, their meer Dietary Leeches or Scholastick Methodists (no better than most of our own) for Physicians; their cast Tooth-drawers and Barbers that had not worth enough to earn Bread at home, to become our admired Chirurgeons; *French* Musick, *French* Dancing-Masters, *French* Air in our very Countenances, *French* Legs, *French* Hats, *French* Complements, *French* Grimaces; only we have not so frequent the *French* shrug of the shoulder, because we are not generally so low—and itchy. Pardon me, if thus far, in zeal to mine own Nation, and indignation, I a little digress. Any thing that speaks *French* is our delight, and such is the Witchcraft also upon the other Nations of *Europe*, that having made the *French* Language and Humours universal, I cannot but look on it as a sad Omen of Universal Slavery; forasmuch as both Divines and Politicians have, by the counsel of God's Providence, and Revolutions past in the World, observed, that a Nations taking of Language from another Nation, and preferring it before their own, hath usually been a fore-runner of,

of, and prepared the way for its Conquest. No marvel then that *France* is carried on elevated with the Ambition and belief of Conquering All, when they see all so fancifully dote upon their more effeminate Language, Fashions, and People. Therefore 'tis high time that we return to our *Old English Spirit* and Humour, which naturally is more grave; manly, and Martial, and by its native courageous Temper sufficiently enabled (as of old) to cure their hot fits, and cudgel them out of their disciplinary, artificial Conduct, and evaporating Valour.

But to return where I left, let me say, there's much more fear of their pretended Friendship, and certain Falshood, than of any thing else they can do, notwithstanding all their Numbers; as may be collected out of the memorable Stories of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*; of which last they have in their Chronicle left this dismal Note, *LaMauvaise Journée d'Agincourt*. Let us then in the mean time have an eye to their Treachery, Treaties, Peace more dangerous than War, and their abusive Dealings.

And if those Particulars which we have hitherto repeated, be not enough to paint them out in their Colours, let us next call to mind how falsely they dealt with us in the last *Dutch War*, under pretence and appearance of a hearty Conjunction with us. As to the undertaking it self, they made us to believe they would be Principal in the War, and that they would be content that our Forces should second them but as *Auxiliares*: but as soon as they thought they had engag'd us so far in the business, that we could not well go back, nor take new Counsels, they in all Princes Courts declared it was not their Quarrel, and that they were engaged in it only to assist us. Which was a friendly course to render us as liable as they could to the Displeasure of other Princes that liked not the War; and to excuse themselves, though they had been the chief Causers and Contrivers of it.

We cannot omit to remind you next, how strangely

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they behaved themselves towards us by Sea ; When they should have assisted us in the Battle that was fought under the Conduct of the most Illustrious his Highness Prince *Rupert* ; when by reason of their standing at a distance in the very heat and stress of the Fight, and never coming in to assist him, they did sufficiently manifest, that their Squadron of Ships was sent only to be Spectators, and to learn to Fight, and for other ends, rather than to act in it : and truly his Highness that day gave them an Heroick Example of Skill and Courage, when he was set upon by two of the *Dutch* Squadrons together, one of which the *Admiral* of the *French* Squadron ought to have engag'd; according to the Orders that his Highness had sent to him the day before : but he not coming in, though the wind all the day stood fair for him, his Highness was left alone to bear the brunt of the Engagement with two of the Enemies Squadrons at once : and though his own Ship was furrounded on all sides, yet he so nobly acquitted himself that day, that he not only made his own way out of that great distress, but giving a courageous Example to the rest of his Squadron, went with them, and assisted that other Squadron of ours which had been engaged against Vice-Admiral *Tromp* at a great distance in a separate Fight, contrary to his Highnesses Orders. Moreover, it is to be remembred, that as he made way to their Assistance, his Squadron by the way still fought the *Dutch* Squadrons, who made way also side by side with ours at some distance, both sides shooting at each other ; the *Dutch* in hope to have hindred the *Prince* from giving the assistance intended ; which being nevertheless effected by his Highness, and the *Hollanders Admirals* finding they could not prevent it, and that they had enough of it, made sail away for their own Coasts. But had the *French* Squadron under the Command of the Count *D'Estrees*, done his Dury, and come in to second the *Prince* any hour of the day, as he easily might have done (the wind standing fair) it was evident that day, we might then have

have had one of the most glorious Victories that ever was obtained by Sea, and but few of the *Dutch Ships* could have escaped home. This was afterwards acknowledged and attested by Monsieur *Martel*, the Count *D'Estrees* own Vice-Admiral, who, like an honest man, attempted to have come in with a few of his Ships, but could not; and afterwards for his forwardness to have fought, and because he blamed his Admiral, when he returned to *Paris*, he was call'd to an Account, and Committed to Prison; whereas the Count having followed the *private Instructions* of the *French Ministers*, was still continued in Honour and Command. And therefore it must needs be an undeniable Evidence, that he had *privy Orders* and Instructions only to stand still and look on, while we and the *Dutch* should be tearing and destroying one another; because otherwise, in order to a vindication of the Honour of *France* and its *Ministers*, They would doubtless have made him answer that egregious Piece of Treachery with the price of his Head.

I intend as much brevity as may be, therefore have forbore to touch upon all the *Circumstances* of that Affair; but thus much is absolutely necessary, to give you proof of the *French* good will and faithfulness to *England*, as well as to all other Nations that have had, or shall have any Dealings with them. Now let us next see how they dealt with us, in order to the putting an end to this; which having been by us entred into jointly with the *French*, doubtless nothing ought to have been attempted by any one in order to the ending of it, but what should carry a fair Respect to the Interest of both Parties in conjunction: But see how they play'd their parts with us in this also!—The *States General* of the *United Provinces* having nominated several Deputies to be sent, some to his Majesty of *England*, and some to the *French King*, to know of them both upon what Terms they would be willing to agree, and come to a Peace: His Majesty (as it is a Vertue innate in his own Royal Temper) intended to deal most justly with the *French King*.

upon this occasion; and therefore so carried the matter, to avoid giving him any offence or jealousy; and being loth to do any thing in the Affair without participation of Counsels, immediately sent him word, such *Deputies* were arrived at *London*, and would not so much as hear what their Errand was without the privity of *France*, supposing that he should have a suitable Return from thence.

But what happened in the mean time? Even a quite contrary behaviour of the *French*: For no sooner were the other *Deputies* arrived at the *French Court*, but they were presently visited and caressed by two Secretaries of State, and without further delay it was demanded of them, first if they had full power from their Masters to treat; and next, what Proposals they would make in order to a speedy Peace. The *Deputies* desired rather to know first what Proposals the *French Ministers* would make. Whereupon, to hasten them to a Conclusion of the Work, the *French* shortly told them, they were to understand, That what their Master the King had Conquered by his Arms in *Holland* he would not part with, unless they gave him an Equivalent, as well for those Places, as for the rest that he should conquer before the Treaty be concluded.

This Answer made the *Deputies* forthwith send back one of their number to the *Hague*, by name Mr. *De Groot*, who was speeded back again with Instructions to *Amerongen*, authorizing him and his Fellow-*Deputies* to conclude a Peace with the *French*. He was no sooner arrived, but Monsieur *de Louvois* one of the Prime Ministers of State made short work, delivered the *Dutch* *Deputies* a Project of Treaty, or rather the Pretensions of the King his Master; upon grant whereof (as he said) he would be both willing and ready to return to his former Amity with the *States General*, and conclude a firm Peace with them.

Was not this a sweet Return of dealing towards his Majesty of *England*? For, you are to note, That though the War was made jointly, and so no doubt it was not to be ended

ended without respects to be had to the Interests of each Party concerned therein, which you have seen was fairly meant and observed by his Majesty on our part towards the *French*; yet they had so little regard to us, that they not only put on and entred upon a Treaty without our Privy or Consent, but would have concluded it upon that separate Treaty without us, only to their own Advantage, whereby their Master might as perfectly become sole Master of the *United Provinces*, as if he had conquered all by the *Sword*.

You are to note also, for a clearer understanding of their Intents, That when the Heer *De Groot* being to go the second time from *Amerongen* to the *Hague* with the Articles of this *Separate Treaty*; when he arrived there, the *States* finding that there was nothing in them which concerned *England*, he told them the *French Ministers* had told him, The *States* his Masters might deal as they pleased with *England*, and make an end as cheap as they would; because (as they pretended) they were not bound by Treaty to procure the *English* any Advantages. And thus no more Notice was taken of his Majesty, nor greater care of his Interests, than if he had never been concerned in the War, or in no *League* with the *French* at all: So that if by wonderful Providence this *Separate Treaty* had not been broken off, *Europe* might have been in greater hazard of its Liberty, and we of our Safety, by a settled Domination of the *French* in the *United Provinces*.

Much more might be added, to shew the foul play of the *French* with us at that time, and afterwards also when the Duke of *Buckingham* and my Lord *Arlington* were sent hence into *Holland*: but I must be brief, this being enough to discover their friendly behaviour during the Joynt-War *An. 1673*.

In the next place, let us see how they have carried themselves since the Year 73. For, we have an Account, that notwithstanding the Amity betwixt us hath been continued to this Day, yet that Nation hath never ceased to
do

do us one Injury or other, and no sufficient Redress at all hath been obtained, though Complaints have been made, and Reparation earnestly sought for. Witness especially the many Affronts and Violences done to us upon our Merchants Ships at Sea by the *French Privateers*: For, but very few of them have been restored; and those that have been, have found the Remedy worse than the Disease, because the tedious delay of it brought such charge to the Marchants, that the benefit coming by the Restitution would not counter-vail their Expences in attendance at the Court of *France*.

For the Clearing whereof, it cannot be amiss to give here at large an Account touching the Event of such Applications as have been made to his Majesty for Redress at the Council-board, and with the Committee of Trade belonging to his most Honourable *Privy-Council*, excellently penned, and now come to my Hand newly printed and dispersed; therefore I reprint it. And it here followeth.

At the Court at *White-Hall* the 4th of *August*, 1676.

Present the Kings most excellent Majesty in Council.

The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Trade did this Day present unto his Majesty in Council, a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects did sustain by French Capers, in the Words following:

May it please your Majesty,

There was presented unto your Majesty in Council on the 31 of May last, a Petition in the name of all the Merchants of London, and other places, concerned in the several Ships taken by the *French Privateers*, and carried into several Ports of that Kingdom; and their Complaints consisted of the Points following:

1. That the Ships and Goods of your Majesty's Subjects, though manned according to the Act of Navigation, and furnished with all necessary Passes, were daily seized, carried into *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, *Sherbrook*, and other Ports, the Masters and Mariners kept close Prisoners, or force them by hardship to abuse the Owners, or else for Relief of their own necessities (being commonly stripped and plundered) to enter into the Privateer's Service, which great numbers have done with very pernicious effects..
2. That

2. That the delay and charge of prosecuting the Law in France, does commonly make the Owners to become losers of half the value, when ever they are successful.

3. That there is no Reparation ever gotten from Privateers, for what they plunder and imbezle, which makes them freely seize upon all they meet, and perpetually molest the Navigation of your Subjects.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly imploring your Majesties Protection and Relief, your Majesty was hereupon graciously pleased, out of a sence of your Subjects sufferings, to command that some Frigats should sail forth to clear the Coast of those Privateers, to seize them, and bring such as had offended to make Restitution. And your Majesty did further order, that the Committee of Trade should well take notice of the particular Cases and Complaints depending, that such of them as were of weight and merit might be fitted to receive your most gracious Recommendation, for Relief, as to survey the whole number of Seizures which have been made on your Subjects, in order to lay before your Majesty what hardships have been sustained at Sea, and what sort of Justice hath been administered in France; with their Opinion of what is fit to advise your Majesty therein.

In obedience to which Command we have hereunto annexed a list of such ships as have been seized, to the number of 53. and the Cases wherein the Owners have repaired unto your Majesty either in Council, or by your Secretary of State, for Relief; which as in the general it supposes a Justice in such Complaints, so it leaves a suspicion of great hardship in the Methods of Redress, and the number of Captures is no small proof of the facility of Condemnation.

How many other helpless Men there have been (besides the said Cases) who have not had ability to prosecute, or how many of these Cases have been favoured with Redress, we cannot certainly understand, till the Information we have sought for, comes from Paris, which may also enable us to compleat their Circumstances of every Case.

But in the mean time, such of all the Instances of Redress,

as are come to our knowledge, we have not failed in the Margin, to make mention of them, being in number seven.

While we were in the midst of this Prosecution, Mr. Secretary Coventry does on the 6th. instant present unto the Committee a Paper, which he received from the French Embassadour, Monsieur Courtin, relating to these matters, and the Contents thereof were as follow.

An Extract of a Letter from Monsieur Colbert to Monsieur de Pomponne, one of the French King's Secretaries, written the 28th of June 1676,

For what concerns the Prizes, it would be a difficult matter to answer to all the Cases contained in Monsieur Courtin's Letters ; What I can say is,

That the Council for Marine Affairs, sits every Friday at Saint Germans.

That all Privateers and Reclaimers know it.

That Sir Ellis Leighton, nominated by the English Ambassador, hath always notice of it, and is always present at it.

That not a Week passes, but I give him two or three Audiences, and oftentimes I send for him on purpose.

His reasons are all reported, read, and examined.

As likewise are all Petitions of Reclaimers, and I shall tell you more, I acquaint him with the Reasons upon which Judgment is given.

In giving Judgment, all Vessels which have any appearance of being *English*, are releas'd, and very often, and almost always, although we are satisfied that the Ships are *Dutch*, yet they are released because there is some appearance of their being *English* ; and every thing is judged favourable for that Nation ; and it is true that all Ships that are taken are of *Dutch*-built, that they never were in *England*, that the Masters and all the Equipage are *Dutch* ; that the Documents are for Persons unknown, and which are not often-times so much as named, that they carry with them only some Sea-Briefs from *Waterford*, or some other Town of *Ireland*, or *Scotland* : That the whole Ships Company,

Company deposes, they were sent to *Holland*, that we have found on Board, three or four Vessels, Bills of Accounts, by which it is seen the *English* took two, three, and four *per Cent.* for owning of Ships: and although it is impossible to avoid confiscating them, yet these are the Ships which make such a noise in *England*.

In answer to which remarks, though it be true that all respect imaginable ought to be given to what Ministers of *this* consideration do pronounce, yet there being some difference between them who feel the smart, and those who feel it not, we shall insist on some particulars, that your Majesty may discern whether your Subjects are fortunate in their Freedom of Trade at Sea, or in the helps of Justice when they are seiz'd, as the Report and Information of the Letter will seem to make out; for as it magnifies the favour which is exercised in *France*, the facility in all Addresses, and the tenderness to relieve *English* Men in all Complaints, so we cannot on this subject but own to your Majesty the very different resentments we have thereof; for we understand that when *English* Ships are brought into the Ports of *France*, many of the Mariners complaining of ill treatment, and some of torment, their Papers being seized, and their Persons in restraint, till all examinations are prepared, then are all their Writings sent up to the Privy-Council at *Saint Germans*, and there Judgment definitively given, seldom are any of the Reasons of Condemnation mentioned in the Decree, and never any Appeal or Revision admitted, so at last it was until the 20th of June last, and whether this be the tenderness, or the Justice which is mentioned, we do not know, but we are well assured, that the Methods of your Majesty's Clemency and Justice on like occasions have been far otherwise; and we appeal to the present Ambassadour, *Monsieur Courtin*, if almost in all Cases that he or any of the Ambassadors thought fit to own when his Excellency was here before, and your Majesty in War with *Holland*, seizing many Ships as Prize, and under great suspicion claimed by the French, whether it were not very customary to have a short

reference, and a Summary Examination of all Papers by the Judge of the Admiralty in his Chamber; and that if anything appeared fair in the Case, whether the Ships were not immediately releas't without Law, charge, or delay; and 'twill not be out of Season, we hope, to annex hereunto the Copy of an Order of the 22. of July 1665. signed by the then Lords Commissioners of Prizes, where it will appear that eighteen French Ships which were laden with Wine and Brandy, being at Dover and detained as Prize, were all 18 by one Order discharged without any Law, or even the Ceremony of the Judges Examination, being singly on the Credit of the Ambassador's Word, affirming that they belonged unto the French.

As for the matter of Revisions or Appeals after Sentence in the Court of Admiralty here, we know his Excellency will also remember, That never any man was deny'd his Liberty therein; but on the contrary, your Majesty gave a standing Commission for Appeals in all Cases of Prizes, and fill'd it with the Lords of your Council only, that every Case might receive a candid as well as unquestionable Determination.

We might also put your Majesty in mind, That during the whole Term of your late League with France, whenever any French Ships were seized by the Hollander, and afterwards retaken by his Majesty's Frigats, such French Ships were always restor'd on Demand, no consideration being had of the time they were in possession of the Hollander, whether a Month, two, or three, as sometimes they were; and when the French owner, as it hath happened, knew not of such retaking, but that the Ship was according to Law condemned to your Majesty, and sold with other Prizes; yet the Claimer appearing, your Majesty, hath ordered the Money and product of the Ships to be restored unto him.

Such various Methods of Justice and of Clemency might have intituled your Majesty to a different acknowledgment, and more advantageous Effects.

As to the other part of the said Paper, it seems to contain very harsh Imputations on the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects, and from some ill Practice perhaps found out (as every where there

there may be Instances of the like) General Rules are made, and severe Impressions taken, which having entered the thoughts of some Eminent Ministers, we must not wonder, how frequent and how multiplied soever your Majesty's Recommendations for Justice are, that the events of Tryals prove so unfortunate; if your Majesty will but vouchsafe to cast your Eye on the Causes here annexed, you will soon see.

Whether (as it is imputed) all the Ships taken are Dutch-built?

Whether they are all such as never were in England?

Whether all the Masters, and all the Mariners are Dutch?

Whether the Documents be for Persons unknown, and oftentimes not named?

Whether in the whole List, there be more than one Ship from Waterford, and but six from the rest of all Ireland, but from Scotland not so much as one?

Whether it is credible all the Ships Company do swear they are sent to Holland, when so many are taken even coming from Holland?

Your Majesty may see how many Ships in the List are English-built, taken with English Colours, English Mariners, English Owners, some of them known to your Majesty, and to whom the best Papers your Majesty, or your Ministers can sign, or the Treaties do require, are given but all in vain.

So that if the Case be in the general quite different from what in the general is represented, we hope it will be no crime for your Majesty's Subjects to make some noise in England, when they are hurt, and when they see their goods taken from them by violence; and that violence rather justified, than redress'd by Law.

'Tis not for the Condemnation pass'd on these very ill Cases enumerated, that your Subjects do complain, for it were to their advantage, of all such were punish'd and deterred from Trade who by collusion take share in that profit, which the favour of the present Conjunction seems wholly to appropriate to this Kingdom.

And surely your Majesty and the whole Kingdom did reckon upon this Advantage, and the extent of Trade that would natu-

rally flow, as one of the greatest Fruits and Blessings of your Peace; so that your Majesty being sensible of great decay and loss of English Trading Ships in the late War, did think it advisable to admit your Subjects to repair themselves on the suddain by purchasing of Foreign Ships, and your Majesty by your Authority made them free and fit to partake in the benefit of English Ships, to the diminution of those higher Customs which otherwise such Ships were obliged to pay, and while your Subjects with these and with their own home-built Ships, are in prosecution of the said advantages, while every man is invited by the Conjunction to venture more, and to enlarge his Trade, while by a general trust in the Peace and Alliance your Majesty holds with all your Neighbours round about, they are led to go abroad unarm'd and without defence, we cannot but lament it as a great misfortune and disappointment, to observe how these your Majesty's Subjects are frequently made a Prey of, and very evilly treated both at Sea and Land.

Wherefore considering that the root of all these Disorders arises from the Violence and Rapine of the French Capers, who ought to be lookt on as disturbers of the Publick quiet, and Enemies of the good Friendship between the two Crowns, we are humbly of opinion that your Majesty has just occasion from the injuries past, and those which are now depending, and which do every day increase, to make a very serious Representation of all unto his most Christian Majesty; and not only press for some better method of repairing the grievances mentioned, but earnestly to insist on the calling in of all Privateers; or else your Majesty must do right, and give defence to your Subjects from all the Insolencies which they so frequently meet. All which is most humbly submitted.

Council-Chamber 31. July 1676.

Anglesey, Craven, Finch C. H. Coventry,
Bath, J. Ernle, Bridgwater, G. Cartret.

Robert Southwell.

His Majesty taking into his serious Consideration the daily Complaints of his Subjects, and having a great sense and resentment of their ill usage, hath thought fit to approve the said
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Report, and is therefore graciously pleas'd to order as it's hereby ordered accordingly.

That the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do immediately transmit to his Majesties Ambassador at Paris a Copy thereof, that so the evil and the unhappy state of these things may be made known in that Court, and the Remedies prest for in his Majesties Name, which are proposed by the said Report, and Mr. Secretary is also to attend the French Ambassador here, with the same Representation, and to expostulate upon all these Hardships; and the little Remedy given to his Majesties Subjects, either on the Merits of their Causes, or the Recommendations of them by his Majesty. That so his Excellency being made sensible of his Majesties Displeasure herein, and the reasonable Discontent of his Subjects, there may be by his Care such lively Impressions hereof fix'd with the King his Master, and the Ministers of France, as may redress the Evils that are complain'd of, and obtain the just Remedies which are proposed.

Philip Lloyd.

To these Evidences, I might add the List of several Ships belonging to our *English* Merchants, taken by *French Privateers* since *December, 1673.* which was also presented to the Right Honourable the *Committee of his Majesties Privy-Council for Trade*, and by them to his Majesty, together with the Names of their Owners, and their other Circumstances; but it would be too copious for this place. Therefore 'tis sufficient for me to shew you only an excellent Account of the Business it self, of the great Care and Pains of the Noble Lords of the Council's *Committee for Trade*; and of his Majesties Royal resentment of the Sufferings of his Subjects, and the Abuses put upon our Nation; which may testify, that no Nation under Heaven can have better Reasons on their side to justify a War, than *England* hath against *France*, for the many Dishonours, Affronts, and Injuries done us, in recompence of his Majesties high Integrity, and fair Carriage towards them.

But this Unfaithfulness of theirs towards us is ingrafted

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in their very Nature, as may appear not only by what hath of late been observed, but also by the Stories of old, all the time that *Scotland* was under a Crown separate from *England*, it having then been perpetually made use of by *France*, when any Difficulties were upon us, as a *Back-door* to enter, disturb, weaken, and attempt us here in *England*. Therefore having, since the happy Union of the two Crowns under King *James*, been at a loss all his Reign how to disturb us by their wonted way, they at length got an opportunity to plague us, by bolstering up a boisterous *Presbyterian Party* in *Scotland*, that might open the *Back-door* again, to let into *England*, not only Armies, but the delicate *Pandora* with her *Box of Beauty*, varnish'd over with the name of of the *Holy Discipline*, and fill'd with all the Plagues of *Ægypt*, to make our Nation miserable; I mean *Presbytery*, the pious Mother, Nurse and Seminary of *Civil Wars*, and perpetual Factions among us: and thus for the planting of War here, we are beholden to *France*, among the other good Deeds they have done to our Nation.--But that I may no longer talk in the Clouds, the plain Story in brief is this:

The *French* having long had a Design of Conquering the *Spanish Low-Countrys*, and conceiving it was no time to discover or attempt it, as long as *England* should be in a condition to hinder it, therefore to remove this Impediment out of the way, the best way for attaining their End was thought to be in the first place an Imbroilment of the King of *England*, that instead of looking to Concerns abroad, he might be held in Contest at home with a factious Party of his *Scotish* Subjects, who before, and in the year 1639. had shewn themselves very vexatious and troublesome to his Majesties Government, about matter of *Kirk-Discipline*, and its Government by Bishops: This was matter combustible enough for *France* to work upon, and blow into a flame: so that Cardinal *Richelieu*, grand Minister of State to the *French* King, by his Agents giving them large Promises and Encouragements, got into a participation

ticipation of Counfels with them; whereby the Faction was agitated into a Downright Rebellion there, under the Name of seeking a *Reformation*; and then followed Counfels alfo for an Invaſion of *England*; which was effected, and they made their way with an Army to *Newcaſtle*, poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Bnt by the King's Prudence they were ſent home again, a Pacification being made, and hoped it was that all would have remain'd quiet. But this ſudden matter not ſuiting with the mind of the *French Mi- niſtry*, and *Richlieu* finding that there was a working up of the like Diſcontents, and a likelihood of the ſame Deſigns in *England* for the cauſe, or rather pretence of *Religion*, the Bellows were blown here alſo by the ſame hand; ſome of the heads of the *Faction* here were brought to a brotherly correſpondence of Counfels and Reſolutions with their Friends of *Scotland*, a conjunct Deſign was laid for a *Second Invaſion upon England*, under the name of *Brotherly Aſſiſtance*; and the Platform of the great *Covenant* was then propoſed, approved by the Agents of their friend *Richelieu*, to be ſet on foot firſt in *Scotland*; and by Agreement it was afterward to be handed thence in due time back into *England*. In the mean while, the FORTY ONE *Parliament* being called, matters then ripened apace for their purpoſe, by means of a prevalent Faction in *Parliament*, which very much alarm'd the King and his Court, inſomuch that he conceived it was high time to rip open this Evil, by diſcovering, ſeizing, and accusing ſome of the aforementioned Heads of the *Faction*, viz. a Lord, and Five Members of the *House of Commons*. The Articles of the Charge againſt them were in number Seven, One of which was; *That they had traiterouſly invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Majeſties Kingdom of England*. Which was ſo true, that he deſired a Tryal of them; but their Party in the *House* not daring to permit it to be put to Proof; they ſhock'd the King in the Buſineſs; and ſo the Affair of the COVENANT, and the other Effects of that *Invitation*,

ran the more roundly on to a ripeness and final Dispatch in *Scotland*, by the time that the Sun in its course brought on the year 1643. And then came on a Second *Invasion of England*, flourishing their Colons with this *Rebellious Morro*, FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS. And thus you see how far we were beholden to *France* for all the Miseries of the ensuing Wars, and the numerous Brood of *Factions* which issued thence in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: Of the certain Truth whereof we might have had undeniable Evidence, upon the Tryal of those whom the King had then charged with Treason, if the Temper of that time would have permitted a fair prosecution; however, it was (I remember) sufficiently talk't of in those days; and I have now by me a Book in the *French* Tongue; which was printed 24 Years ago by *Adrian Ulae*, at the *Hague* in *Holland*; in the third part whereof are 8 Chapters, and over the second Chapter is this Title, [*Le Cardinal de Richelieu la cause des Desordres arrivez en Angleterre.*] That is to say, [*Cardinal Richelieu the cause of the Disorders befallen England.*] Which he brought in (as I told you) by the way of *Scotland*, to the ruin of our Peace, the Royal Family, the Church, and the whole State and Government of our Kingdom.

But this tampering with and corrupting other Prince's Subjects, is an old Game that the *French* Ministers have ever been playing all over *Europe*. Let it be remember'd how the same *Richlieu* wrought the Revolt of *Portugal* from the *Spaniard*, and the Rebellion in *Catalonia*, and carry'd on the Wars in both those Countries to bring down the Power of *Spain*; how he tamper'd also with the *Swede*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, to invade the *Empire*; and then with the *Emperours General*, *Wallestein*, to betray the *Imperial Army*: by whose suddain death the *French King* lost the great opportunity to work himself into a possession of the *Imperial Throne*. How *Cardinal Mazarin*, after him, carried on the Popular Com-motions raised by *Masaniello* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by sending

sending thither the D. of *Guise* to be their Head, to the almost wresting of that Kingdom out of the Hand of the *Spaniards*; and then also how he lurch't that Duke, and deserted him: Moreover, how the last Year the *French Intrigues* so far prevailed in *Spain*, as to turn the *Queen-Mother* out of her Regency, drive out her Favourites, such as she thought most fit and firm for the young King's Safety, to put him into other Hands, and turn all things in that Court topsie-turvy, that being agitated and held in play by their own divisions at Home, they might be less able to have regard to the preservation of the *Fleming*, or to the carrying on a Joynt-war with the *Hollanders*. How they have been the common Enemies of every State, destroying the Peace of Government every where; sowing of Factions in all Princely Courts, their Councils, or among such of the Subjects as are factious; or else they jumble one Prince against another by turns, as they did the Prince *Elector Palatine* against the *Elector of Mentz*, starting up an occasion of Quarrel betwixt them; one while to take part with the *Elector Palatine* against *Mentz*, another while with *Mentz* against the Prince; whose Country they miserably harassed and wasted.

It cannot be forgotten what they lately did to corrupt the *Emperor's* Council, by means of his own Favourite Prince *Lobcowitz*, whom they bought for Money to betray his Master's Counsels and Affairs; besides their Intrigue in the same manner with the Prince of *Furstenbergh* and his Brother. Also, what they did in the *United Provinces* to incommode his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, by bolstering up the *De Wits*, and their *Louvenstein* Republican party against the Princely.

What they have done to clog the *Emperor*, by fostering a Rebellion against him in *Hungary*; and how great charge they are at to sever the power of the D. of *Bavaria*, and of the D. of *Hanover*, from the common Interest of the *Empire* in this War. How they have diverse times endangered all *Christendom* by confederating with the *Grand Seignior*, to

disturb both *Hungary* and *Poland*; for which cause (as My Lord *Alexbert* writes in his History) the Pope had like to have given away the Title *Most-Christiān* from their *French* King *Francis I.* to bestow it upon our *Henry VIII.* before he had been dubb'd by his *Holiness* with that of *Defensor Fidei*. — What Artifices have been used by them to settle and nourish perpetual Faction among the *Polish Nobility*, whereby other great Opportunities have diverse times been given the *Turk* to fall upon them.

In a word, their common practice hath been, to give the World all manner of disturbance, and so to render themselves in its Opinion the common Enemies of its Peace, a publick Pest among States and Princes, in every Country they either find combustible stuff, or else make it, and then set fire to it; they are at a mighty charge to find Fodder for the various Animals of Faction in all Places. By this means *Divide & Impera* makes way for them, and thus they conquer more than by their Arms: they inflame Countries thus, as well as burn them, as they did *Alsatia*, that having enough to do to quench fires at Home, they may have neither leisure nor power to hinder *French Projects* abroad. Questionless then, since we in *England* have seen and do see our Neighbours Houses fired one after another, 'tis high time to look to our own, and secure our selves and all *Europe*, from such *Bautefeus*, and the sad Effect of their Impious Courses.

SECTION IV.

That as the French have dealt falsely with us, and all other Princes in the point of Peace: There is no Security to be had for any one Party, but by a Joynt War.

His Majesty of *England* having hitherto on his part preserved a fair Respect and Amity towards *France*, passing by the many Indignities and Injuries done to himself

self and his Nation, in hope his Patience might, by fair means, have prevail'd with the *French King* at length to do reason to us, and the rest of his Neighbours; and that to that end his Majesty might have perswaded him to have forborn a further persecution of the War in *Flanders*, that thereby we might have seen some good Fruit of his Majesties friendly interposing in order to the procurement of a speedy Pacification; and the *French* pretending so to do, and to admit his Majesty to a performing the good Office of Mediation betwixt *France* and the *Confederates*; but now the Issue of all being contrary, for that the *French* have made an unexpected sudden Breach further upon *Flanders* in the depth of this Winter, and appeared resolute to carry the whole Country, if they could, before Spring; so that this surprise gave a new Alarm to us and all the Neighbours: the World must justify his Majesty, if after all amicable means used in vain, he shall now find himself in prudence concern'd to take a Course by War, to vindicate his own Honour against the many Violations and Affronts acted by *France*; and by God's blessing to become the happy Instrument to recover the Rights of the oppressed States and Princes; as also to preserve his own Nation against the Dangers threatned at our very doors, and to restore unto the Generality that glorious Christian Peace, which cannot otherwise be obtained.

Peace was the Subject of Christs last Sermon; the great Legacy that he bequeathed to his Followers. What Christians then are they, that make it their Interest and Business to destroy it on Earth! This is the Work of wild Beasts and Monsters to infest whole Countries; and when men act as such, the very *Law of Nature* as well as of Nations, excites and justifies all Mankind to War against them: Look back on the former Sections of this Discourse, and there you have a sight who are the men, whom no Treaties nor Intreaties can reduce to a more *Christian State*. Their Motto is, *Ius est in Armis*, No Law but the Law of Arms; therefore by Arms alone the Quarrel is to be decided;

and that for these following Reasons : *Provided* that *Foreign States* and their Ministers do not trifle with, but come up roundly to us : And that people here at home do their Duty for Encouragement answerable to the Importance of so great and necessary an undertaking. Which (no question) every man wise and honest will be ready to do, and no reasonable man can doubt it, seeing our own and the Universal Interest now calls for it, and the Parliament did this last Summer so earnestly address for it ; and (I suppose) his Majesty had suitably answer'd it, had he conceived the Time to be seasonable, and some other Circumstances agreeable ; which the Law most prudently hath left in his own Judgment to determine; the more full and better sense whereof may be collected out of his Answer to the *Address* it self; at the end whereof I read this Intimation ; *That he could not do things for the security of his People, with those Advantages to them, which by the Parliament's Assistance at that time he might have done.* Which (I remember very well) most Men did interpret to be meant of the *House of Commons* not granting, and the King's wanting 600000 *l.* demanded by his Majesty for a further supply, which might have enabled him to, &c. But of this, more anon.

Here are the Reasons afore-mentioned.

1. The first Reason for War against them, I draw from the *Summum probabile*, the Highest probability, that if we help not to reduce them, and extinguish War abroad, they will at last bring it home to us. Which I prove by consideration of these three particulars.

France's Aphorisms of State.

The Political Creed.

Their Necessity to continue in War.

1. The first *Aphorism* is such as is destructive of Peace in all Places, and disposes them to act accordingly. That is, *To enter into all sorts of Affairs by Right or by wrong, by Hook or by Crook*, and every where to become *Arbiters by Violence* or by *Cunning*, by *Threats* or by *Friendly Pretences*. In all the Differences

Differences past or present, they some way or other wind themselves in to take party, and form for themselves an Interest: nor did ever any People shew the least dislike to the Government, and an Inclination to Rebellion, but the *French* fomented it, and made the Factions their *Allies*. They never entred into any War to favour any Party, but with intent to exasperate it; nor into any Peace, but to sow the Seeds of New Disputes, as past Experience hath made evident, and the Stories of these Truths afford numerous Examples; but I now want room to insert them: So that if we constrain them to Peace, it will last no longer than they can work our Malecontents into Mutiny, and then they will violate that Peace by encouraging them, or by siding with them, secretly or openly.

2. A *Second Aphorism* is, to have for their only Rule *Interest of State*; so that the *Faith of Treaties*, the good of *Religion*, or the *Ties of Blood and Amity* cannot hold them. The Instances for proof thereof I have given already. All that the *Turks* have done in *Christendom* since the time of *Francis I.* to our time, they owe to the Alliances of *France* with the *Ottoman Court*; and to the diversion which *France* made in their Favour, against any *Christians* who were likely to act against that Common Enemy of our *Religion*.

3. Their *Third Aphorism* is, To keep other States, as much as they can, *divided and busied at home, or else engaged in some External War*, as *England, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Poland, Holland*, and many other Countries have had sad Experience. What Peace then with such a Nation, her Witchcrafts are so many?

Their Fourth is, To keep their *Younger Brothers of the best Families* always in Arms abroad at the Expence of their *Neighbours*.

All these are the *Maxims of Conquerors*; infallible Evidences of a profound Design to be prosecuted to the utmost Bounds of Conquest: So that to talk to them of Peace, is to talk against their *Interest*; that 'is, 'tis to no purpose.

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The other thing to be considered, is their *Political Creed*; which I shall not give you in my own words, but as it is translated, having been printed in the *French Tongue* at *Ville-Franche* by *Jean Petit*, 1677.

[They believe that what others call *Violence*, is but a bare precaution, and a pursuit of one of their *Infalible Rules of Art*, viz. That *Conquerors* ought to provide for the future, by destroying whatever may hurt them, and that they ought to have no Law but the *Sword*, the *Appetite of Governing*, and the *Glory to be had by aggrandizing themselves at the cost of their Neighbours*. *Pyrrhus* also believed this just; and *Cæsar* that all things were lawful for *Dominion*.

They generally applaud these *Maxims*, and hold that nothing is forbid to them, that may disturb their *Neighbours*, and sow division among them: that they have a secret joy in doing wrong, and whatever else may be most afflicting and outrageous. That *Pity* is a cowardly *Vertue* which overthrows a *Crown*, whose best Support is *Fear*, and *Impiety* its Foundation. That *Arms* inspire a reverence among *Men*, and *Troops* are the admirable *Advocates* which plead a cause best. That the *Proclamation of the Canon* is above all other *Titles*. That *Justice* is a *Phantasm*; *Reason* a *Chimera*; *Marriage* a trifle; the *Faith of Treaties* an illusion; *Peace* but a bait. That their *Cabals* ought to be full of mystery, their *Conferences* insnaring, and their *Oaths* but sport of *Children*, a *Trap* to catch a *Cully*, and a *Charm* for *Fools*.

They further believe and say, That *Perjury* is just, and that according to their new *Morals*, Ill may be done for a greater Good. That *sincerity* ruins them, that *perfidiousness* is profitable; *Imposture*, of much benefit; that *Infidelity* is the *Charter of a Prince*: *Faith*, a foolish *Maxim*; *Keeping their Word* but a mean *Compliance*; and *Violence* the proper hinge to move upon.

Our *Tears* are their *Tipple*, our *Sighs* they regard not; they speak one thing, do another; make great *Promises*, never perform any: Their *Mouth* flatters, while their *Heart* betrays; they have no *Friendship* without an *End*; *Vengeance* is sweet to them, their *Protection* heavy: They embrace with one *Arm*, and smother

ther with another. France is the Proteus of the Age, and hath 1000 Faces: She enters like a Lamb, transforms into a Fox, and thence becomes a devouring Wolf. They never pardon, are never to be surpris'd, and their Ways are past finding out: A double face, a charming Voice, with a studied behaviour. They count nothing a pleasure but what tends to enslave the People, and lead them to despair. Tunc oderint dum metuant; and they scoff at the hatred of the conquered, if they can but make them fear.

Elizabeth of England always asserted, That France might be espoused as a Friend, but never approved for a Neighbour; their rapidity and heat consuming what they can reach, not being able to subsist without coveting and invading their Neighbours Goods and Territories.]

The last of the 3 Particulars to be considered, is, That *France is under a necessity to continue War as long as they can.*

i. This appears by what I have hinted in the *Third Section*: viz. That their King having brought the younger Brothers of his Nobility and Gentry (which are a vast number) to depend upon War for a Livelihood, and by War for a making of their Fortunes; so that he hath made War their Trade. 'Tis absurd to imagine he will by any long Observation of Peace destroy their Trade and Livelihood: For then, what follows? They must even prey upon himself at home; he must maintain them, or they mutiny, and turn popular, and the common people being easily to be agitated with the hope of easing their most intolerable Burthens (for whoever among the *Bourgeois*, the *Tradesmen*, or the *Peasants*, do get either Lands or Pence, their King, as oft as he pleases, demands three parts in four, and so they pay him three Farthings of every Penny, if he Tax it upon them, and sends Troops of Horse to collect it; as now they do at this time in the Provinces of their own Nation; as I have seen the Account of it set down in a Letter which came to hand but few hours ago) for these things, I say, may readily dispose them to close with male-content *Traders in War*, who will be sure to drive that Trade

Trade of war at home, if they have it not abroad. This alone is evidence enough to shew he must avoid a Peace, though he may seem willing to Treat about it, and pretend fair towards it, and perhaps keep it a little while, till he can frame to himself greater Advantages by breaking it, which his Interest (you see) will compel him to, to avoid that *grand Domestick* Mischief aforementioned.

2. Besides, Peace is so far against his Interest, that if he grant it, he cannot have any tolerable pretence to keep up that vast Revenue, which he raises at present out of the Purse of the people to maintain his wars; which I have heard to amount yearly to above *Eleven Millions of Pounds Sterling*, besides his *Contributions* raised out of conquer'd Countries, which are estimated at a grand rate by those that understand them: and all these must needs be diminished if he permit Peace. So that 'tis a mean thought, to imagine that the *French Ministers* should not see and avoid these Consequences, which would lessen their Profit, as well as their *Master's*.

3. To be brief, By another *Reason of State* he is necessitated not to permit Peace long, because without War they cannot long retain their numerous Princes, Marshalls, Dukes, and chief Nobility, in a dependance upon the Crown for augmentation of their Estates, or the satisfaction of their Pride, Ambition, and Avarice, which is not otherwise to be done, but by having to bestow on them great Military Commands, Offices, and Governments in the Conquer'd, and other Conquerable Places. By these things you see what Necessity lies upon their *Ministers* to advise and determine as Monsieur *Louvois*, one of the chief among them very lately did, that there was a necessity for their continuation of War. And indeed, No man better than *Louvois* understands the Temper, Inclination, Sense, and Interest of his *Master*.

Now if these things be so, 'tis time for us to proceed with our other Arguments for War, on our behalf and foreign Neighbours: one of which I have already given you.

II. A *Second Reason*, or *Argument* for us and them to war against *France*, is, That as the *French Ministers* cannot admit Peace, so this is one evident Token they never intended it; forasmuch as they so order'd the matter of Peace under debate at *Nimeguen*, that the Treaty was rendred hopeless.

III. They have hitherto frustrated the gracious Intent, *Offertures*, and *Endeavours* of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to procure a Peace by *Mediation* on the behalf of the *Confederates*, and all *Europe*: which is no less than a tacit Declaration for an Universal Conquest.

IV. A *Fourth Reason*, may be drawn from the Ambition of *France*, which is restless, and boundless; never to be satisfied more than is their Avarice, large enough to swallow All upon the Continent, while they reserve these Isles of *Great Britain*, and *Ireland* as the last Morsels.

V. A *Fifth Reason*, had I time or place here, might be copiously drawn from the huge magnitude of *France*, its Dominion being extended upon the ruins of other Nations to an immense Bulk, beyond all tolerable Allowances: so that in comparison with them and their Mountain of Power and Greatness, the Neighbour States and Princes are become so light, that they are but as the *small Dust in the Ballance*. And therefore unless a Course be taken to give them a Diminution, there will ere long be very little probability of our being able to give him a *Counterpoise*. That excellent Prince the Duke of *Roban*, in his little, but weighty Book, stating the Interests of several Princes, determines it is the Interest of *England* to keep such a Ballance of their Powers, as not to permit that either of them grow so great as to be able to oppress another: And that we ought ever to hold it even betwixt *France* and the House of *Austria*, and if either of them exceed, to reduce it to an Equality; this was accounted a principal part of the Ancient Grandeur of the *English* Nation: King *Henry* the Eighth first well settled it in managing the Difference betwixt *Charles* the Fifth, then both Emperor and King of *Spain*, and *Francis* the

the First, King of *France*, the two Grand Competitors of that Age. That excellent Princess Queen *Elizabeth* well improved it, and so it continued till the time of *Cromwell*, who first erred in this matter of Publick Interest, to serve his own private, by greatning of *France* beyond due proportion, so that he interposed the Difficulties which since lay in the way of Reducing it. By the Influence of this old piece of Policy, it was that *England* was always in a condition, whensoever she pleased, to dispence *Peace*, or *War* to every Nation, and thereby great Honour redounded to our own, throughout the World, and there is nothing but *War* can restore it, by curing the overgrown Dropsie of the *French* Greatness.

VI. You had before an Intimation of another most considerable Reason, drawn from a consideration that no *Peace* that can be made can give us any security of enjoying it long; to which I may add, That a *Peace* will but betray us to the next Opportunity the *French* shall please to take. Besides, in the interval we should but give him the opportunity to reinforce himself, ramass his Treasury: and thereby enable himself to prosecute the old *Artifice* of corrupting other Princes Ministers, Officers and Governors, and work his Ends so as to alienate and separate as many of the Confederates as he can from their holding Counsels in common for Mutual preservation, to embrace such terms as he shall, under a specious shew of Advantages, think fit to propose unto them; which if obtained, would utterly break them one after another, and induce this Inconveniency upon *England*, to be left alone, or with but few Participants to joyn in the work of Reducing *France* into its former legitimate moderate Condition.

VII. Another Reason is to be derived from a Consideration of the great increase of the Naval Power of *France*, whereby they are emboldned to give disturbance to our Merchant-men in our own Seas; such an Indignity to his Majesty, and Violation of our Rights by Sea, as is not
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to be indured; and which the Kings of this Island have from all Antiquity possessed as far as the very shores of *France*, exclusive of any Pretensions of Right of any other Nations within the FOUR SEAS: The Evidences whereof were collected; and with Arguments drawn from all sorts of Learning and Records, digested into one excellent Book, by that most famous Man Mr. *Selden*, entituled *MARE CLAUSUM*. Among the particulars whereof I Remember that the Addition of the *Port-Cullis* to the Royal Badges of the Crown of *England* (which is yet to be seen upon many of the Royal Houses built by our Kings) was made for this Reason, even to signifie to all the World, That we had a just Right and Title, at pleasure to shut up, and open the Sea when we thought fit, as it were, with a *Port-Cullis*, to all Passengers passing by Sea. And by the same Evidences it is there proved, that our Title to our Propriety in the Sea is as good as any Title the *French King* hath to any part of his Dominion by Land. His Grand-Father wrote divers Letters with his own hand to King *James* (which I have formerly seen in the *Paper-Office* at *White-Hall*) to ask Leave for some few Vessels to fish for *Soales* (as he should have occasion) for his own Table: Which was a sufficient Acknowledgement where the Sovereignty lies by Sea. There have been also, in former times, brisk Messengers sent to the *French Kings*, requiring them, as soon as they had but begun to lay the Carcass of some pitiful Ship upon the Stocks, to forbear building. Which shews the Presumption of the *French* in making so grand Naval Preparations to invade our Seas: And our Honour, as well as our Right, calls aloud for Vindication.

VIII. There is Reason also to be drawn from a Consideration of the hazard of Religion. 1. As concerning the *Protestant*, about which I shall not use any more words to clear this point, than this short Proverb now used in *France*, and by them attributed to their own King; *That his Grand-Father loved the Protestants, his Father feared them, and he him-*

self hated them. Which any one that beholds the Ruines of their demolished Churches, and the hard Conditions under which they are oppressed in every point, within that Kingdom (too large here to recite.) will easily believe
 2. As touching the *Roman Catholick Religion*, how that is like to fare, may readily be prognosticated ;

Tros, Rutilusve suat, nullo discrimine habebunt.

Be a *Papist* or be a *Protestant*, the *French* make no difference in usage, wheresoever they come. Witness to this how they have dealt in *Catalonia*, *Alsatia*, the *Spanish Low-Countrys*, and divers other *Roman Catholick Countrys* where all men exclaim against the Domination of *France*.
 3. Whereas it was of old a Doctrine instilled into the minds of the *Romanists* by their *Father Confessors*, that they ought to adhere to *Spain* and the House of *Austria*, rather than to promote the *French Empire*, because *Spain* being then much the greater Kingdom, and esteemed the dearer Son of the Church, by reason of its greater Zeal, and more strict and intire Imbracement of the *Romish Faith*, and through the diligence of the *Inquisition*, kept without any mixture of that which they call *Herefie*. and therefore more likely to continue firm to the *Roman See* ; now of later time, the State of Empire being altered, *Spain* brought much lower, and not able to give such Protection and Defence as formerly to the *Roman Cause* in these parts of the World, the *Pope* and his *Priests* and *Jesuits* are so far altered too, that having since seen the *French* go on like Conquerers, they have quitted the former Reasons on *Spain's* side, and like the Men of the World, are turned *Courtiers of Fortune*, crying up *France* altogether now, though if they please to remember how not many Years ago *France*, upon a petty Quarrel in *Rome*, betwixt some of the *Pope's* Souldiers and the Duke of *Crequi's* Servants (then Ambassador there) ruffled the *Pope* himself with such unheard of Insolence, that for meer fear he was constrained to abandon divers of his Friends and Kindred, and to the perpetual disgrace of the

the *Holy Chair*, and of their Religion, and of the Adored-Father of *Christians*, (as they would seem to repute him) they made him cry like a Child, and erect a Pillar in *Rome*, with an Inscription, signifying the pretended Affront to *France*, engraven upon it; and it continued some Years standing, till the Tears of his *Holiness* prevailed for the demolishing of it. Notwithstanding all this (I say) the *Roman Priests* do venture to magnifie *France* as much as they did *Spain* before, not considering how their *Interest of Religion* declines there by the marvellous increase of the *Protestants* and *Jansenists*, and by the indifferency of Zeal in most of the *French Papists*; and, were it not meer *Reason of State* that holds it up there among the *Great Ones* for the present, no Man knows how soon it might be relinquish't, if a little time should happen to alter that *Reason of State*, it being a voluble thing, if their *Ministers* shall think they have a good reason to invade *Italy*, as other Places, and after Conquest of the smaller Princesthere, to seize *Saint Peters* fair Patrimony for an Addition to the *French Kings* Revenue, and then make the *Pope* content to become his Chaplain, and to be glad of a Pension, as the *Mufti* is at *Constantinople*; who knows then how far *Reason of State* may alter it self, and make further Alterations? But let the *Popish* Party look to that: They may hope the best, if they please; but we and all the rest of the *Protestant* Party in *Germany* and other Parts, must be sure to go to wrack as fast as they can reach us, and then deal with us as they do with their own, in the Concerns of our Religion as well as our Estates.

Ours shall be sure to go down: and the *Papists* cannot be sure their Religion shall not receive Alterations; especially in Secular Advantages of Wealth and Power, seeing even in *France* the King hath already converted to his own use a great part of the Monastick Revenues. Therefore it almost equally concerns both *Papist* and *Protestant*, in reference to Religion, to adventure their distinct Powers and
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interests in one common Bottom, and Resolution, to War with him, and to hinder the obstinate pursuit of that Project of an *Universal Monarchy*.

IX. The last Argument that might be brought is the *Universal Inclination* of our People towards a War with *France*. And the like Inclination, yea, and Necessity that appears among our Foreign Neighbours : Never was there a more marvellous Consent of Mankind about any one Business; therefore I need not use more words to press it on.

SECTION V.

An Account of such Objections and Impediments as by Malecontents may be cast in the way, in Case His Majesty shall see Cause now to make a War.

THAT there are Discontents among us, is a thing in no wise to be denied; and the Authors of them are sufficiently known. They are a sort of ominous Birds always hovering about City and Suburbs, presuming to misrepresent, argue, and arbitrate the great Affairs of State; and such is the licentious Liberty they take to themselves, that they censure, arraign, and condemn what and whom they please. Ever against the Sitting of Parliament, they gather and appear in whole Flights and Flocks, breeding of false News, and boding Mischief wheresoever they come. They sometimes haunt the Houses of Ambassadors, and and other Foreign Ministers, if they can get any intimacy with their Servants, with whom they give, and take Supplies toward a Stock of Intelligence; the one to furnish the Foreign Post, the other the *Coffee-Houses*, whence they issue again, make sallies upon the *Canary Cabals* at the *Globe*, the *Horn*, the *Kings-Head*, or the *Devil*, to furnish them, and settle Correspondencies both *East* and *West*, and to that end receive Commission to become *Emissaries* and *Trotters* betwixt some particular *Wiseacres* in both the

the climates. / If the Parliement chance at any time to be Prorogued or Adjourn'd, that Season proves to this sort of *News-mongers*, like a *nipping Frost* to *Flies*, and they are even ready to die away like fainting *Grass-hoppers*. There's nothing revives them in the Interval, like some unlucky's Mischief befall'n the Court. 'Tis Mischief they gape for and yet are but Fools at doing, and therefore ought to be better instructed.

For if I loved Mischief, and meant to do it, I would first raise Objections to prevent a War now; though a while ago I wished well to all those that had a desire to promote it. I would object, that it is too late to enter upon it now, because it should a been done last Summer, before the *French King* could a made his late Impression so far into the *Spanish Low Country's*, and before the *Confederates* were brought so low. Besides, I would not give way with patience, to hear another man answer me, that it is not too late; but prove that had his Majesty consented to it last Summer, there are most sufficient Reasons to be given why it might have turned very much to the prejudice of his Affairs; as for Instance,

1. Had he then declared an immediate Consent to it, it had been all one as to have declared a War; for, the *French* are not so slow-witted as not to apprehend it so, nor so remiss as to neglect a dealing with us accordingly. What could we have expected, but that our Merchants Ships, which at that time were in great numbers trading within the Dominions of *France*, would have been immediately seized, and all their Effects, which amounted to a vast sum of money? whereby our King, besides the losses of the Merchants, must have lost a great sum of money accruing here to his Customs by the Import of those Goods and Commodities.

2. His Majesty very well understands what an important Point 'tis to consent to a War, which is all one in effect as to proclaim a War, before competent preparations made
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for it by Money, Ammunition and Men, Ships, and all other necessaries for War could be ready to put it in execution.

3. The *French King* might then (for ought that can be said to the contrary) have been thereby so exasperated, as to lay aside a while his Affairs in *Flanders*, and being ready furnished with all the necessaries that we wanted, immediately have resolved to fall upon us by an Invasion, and what (I pray you) could have hindered at that time such a Surprise of us?

4. It had been a strange Adventure to have been so forward to have engaged our selves by promise to enter into the War, before it was known what the *Confederates* would do towards it, to encourage us to their Assistance. The present Distress lies upon them more than upon us; therefore there ought to be no bogling with us, or delaying, but a quick doing what is reasonable for them on their part, to engage us in their Confederacy.

5. The *French King*, having pretended fair for an embracing of His Majesties Mediation in order to a reasonable Peace, it was questionless very convenient we should stop a while to see what would be the issue of his pretence, that in case he should play foul, and deceive us, we might have the juster and fairer cause to War with him.

6. If there had not been any of these Reasons for delay; yet the happy *Alliance* with the Prince of *Orange*, having been since accomplished; and being a very good expedient to open the way for a more convenient entrance into Confederation, is that which may abundantly serve to balance any pretended inconvenience of the delay of entrance. But to proceed

Moreover, if notwithstanding these Reasons, any one of those men of Intelligence should yet mischeivously *Object*, That last Summers delay hath been the ruin of *Flanders*, and made the recovery of it in a manner impossible, and should endeavour to perswade others 'tis so, because of the loss of some few Towns there since, let such consider, that the *Spaniard*, by his not closing yet with us in our friendly

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Inclination, seems not to be of their Opinion, or that *Flanders* is yet so near ruin, seeing that he himself hath made a further delay, by not coming up to our reasonable Demands at this time, when as he hath of late so much pretended it, and all men expected he would accordingly have done it out of hand.

Besides, Let those *News-and-Mischief-Mongers* remember it is not long ago since they themselves, in one of the *Canary-Clubs*, were of a mind, that the *Confederates* if we were joyned with them, would be able to work Miracles in *Flanders* against the *French*: but it now seems that the loss of *St. Ghislain*, or of a Town or two more, hath in a moment deprived us and the *Flemings* of all Power to do what is fit to preserve the Country. It hath been told me, that very lately, the like Discourse being boldly bandied at a certain Cabal of *Coffee-mongers*, one that sate smoaking hard by in a Corner of the Room, slept in, and said honestly, *That he wondred there should happen among some men such a sudden change of Opinion; and that it must needs give a suspicion there is some invisible Spring that moves them; some Secret Intrigue and Reserve in the Heart, when the Tongues go at so rolling a rate: and that they are a sort of people tutor'd to this Tune, to argue Pro and Con by Turns, as their own Occasions alter; That they are resolved to dislike whatsoever the King may judge is reason for him next to do in his publick Affairs; and that they put on the approbations and disapprovements of a War, according as they are influenced, and as the WORD is given out by their envious Male-contented Leaders; and as it may serve to please, or irritate, and to render themselves gracious in their eyes unto whom they are Retainers. I do remember (said he) what Joy the People had, and Bonfires, as soon as the Marriage of the Prince of Orange was declared; and not many days after, this sort of frequent Changelings raised I know how many Scandals about it. How far the French have had an influence on such petulant Talkers, I cannot say; but other men more honest speak broad enough about it.*

Which having been thus roundly utter'd, the Gentleman laid down his Pipe, paid for his Dish of Coffee and went his way, leaving them all in an amaze to guess who this Man should be.

Now, no sooner was this Gentleman gone, but another who over-heard the Discourse, drew near to them: (for all are free over a Coffee-dish) and sitting down, said, Gentlemen, pardon me if I tell you I was here t'other day, and heard some others of you discoursing about Money to carry on the War; and methought it was much any among you should think it reasonable, and most necessary to have War; and others yet he of opinion, That the Point of Money should be cumberd with Delays or Disputes about it. What would the Event of this be? Would it not render us ridiculous to the French, and make them scorn us? Would it not dishearten the Confederates, and make them jealous, that whatsoever Resolutions we take to give them hope of assistance, yet as soon as they are taken, they will by one Accident or other be made impracticable? In time of Necessity, and when Hannibal was at the Gates, or any other Enemies nigh coming, the Romans ever instituted a Temporary Officer, whom they called Dictator, and to him the Senate and People gave, during the publick danger, but not longer, as full Power as the K. of France now enjoys, to do and take whatsoever he should judge necessary to secure the Publick State of the Nation: by which Policy they avoided all Disputes and Debates about the Concerns of the War; and so they generally come off with Success. Be it far from me to urge at this time, that we should in this occasion of ours imitate them, but yet methinks we should so far learn of them, as to do all we can to avoid and lay aside disputings; especially about the very Life and Sinews of a War, constant supply of Moneys, and other Necessaries; and to come as near the Roman Policy as the publick Constitution, convenience, and State of our Government can possibly permit, if we mean to obtain the like happy Success. A trust must be lodged some where; therefore 'tis best and safest to place it where, and in what manner the Law hath placed it. The Law obliges the People, as
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well as the King: It obliges the King to make War, where, and when he shall judge it needful. And on the other hand, it obliges the People, readily and cheerfully to give him necessary supplies; otherwise this absurdity would be implied in our Law, that it should oblige the King, and leave the People loose in this matter; which can by no means be supposed, because then it would oblige him to an Impossibility; it being impossible for him to do his part, unless they on their part shall sufficiently supply him. Which 'tis not to be imagined the People can be so mad as to decline, because 'tis for common Safety, The Supream Law, which is a further Tie upon them; and if they observe not that it is not only to be wanting to the ends of Gubernation, but in effect a Frustrating both of Law and Government it self: and at this time, an unnatural abandoning of our selves, and a giving up of that most noble cause wherein whole Europe is so deeply concerned.

I thought, Gentlemen, to have spoken no more at this time; but (craving your Pardon) pray, Sirs, let me tell you, I over-heard also here t' other day, what some of your Company said, reflecting upon some State Particulars past, the reviving whereof would better become the mouth of a Common Enemy, than a true Englishman, being matters altogether Foreign to the Business of War, which is now the UnumNecessarium, The one Thing Necessary: and till all fit resolutions upon that be taken, why should any matters inferiour, that may cause discontent or division of minds, be discoursed among you? I will not so much as name them, to give you cause to overheat your selves to answer me; I resolve to bury them, and all that you then said about them: For I am no Spy upon you: I am a Gentleman; and if any other person that is an Informer may have taken notice of what you said, and should chance to call me to witness any thing against you, know I have a Gentleman's Memory, very apt to forget all upon such an occasion.

This Discourse (as I have been told) surprized them more than what was said by the other Gentleman, inasmuch that the Company stared on him with silence, being most
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of them (I suppose) of Opinion, that what he said was reason; but as there is in all Companies some whom no Reason can satisfy, so there were (it seems) among them some few *Emissaries, Trotters, and Mischief-mongers*, belonging to the *Canary Cabals*, who began to grumble, but presently broke up, and went to the several places of *Caballing*, and communicated the matter there to their Principals; among whom there hapning to be a *false Brother*, or two, by that means I got the Story.

Now for a Conclusion :

Let me answer one *Objection* which I hear walks about like a *Rugbear* to affright us, *viz.* That though our Chronicles tell us, that *Edw. the Third* conquer'd *France*, and his Son *Edward*, called the *Black Prince*, brought their King prisoner into *England* : and and though *Henry the 5th.* made a *Second Conquest* of them more compleatly, being Crowned King at *Paris*; and his Son *Henry the 6th.* also Crowned there, and Reigned over them many years; yet the Case is alter'd now; *France* is quite another thing; it is now one compact Body; it in those days was shared by diverse *Sovereign Princes*, which made the *French King* but little in comparison of what he is in these days; being become exceedingly more potent and more difficult to subdue, by reason of his present Lordship over all those Sovereignities.

To ballance Advantages of his, note, that *England* also is (through God's good providence) become much more powerful than it was in those days; For though in those days we had *Ireland*, yet it was but a miserable half-planted Country, alwaies rebellious against us, so that it was an extraordinary charge, and a clog rather than a help to us: but now we have it improved to the height, and the *Irish* in good order with our *English*; also the Accession of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, a numerous and warlike People, which then also was another great Clog upon us, now united with us. To these Considerations add, That by addition of the Confederates, if they please to be plain with us, we may I suppose be contrepoise enough to answer all the *French Advantages*; and no Man that knows what *England* is at Sea, and what an *English-seaman* is will doubt, especially if *Holland* joyn with us, that we may be a Match sufficient for that King; and that we over-match him in this, that we have a *Better Cause*; and therefore (God pardoning our Iniquities in other matters) have a better hope of *Divine Benediction*.

Which being well weigh'd, we may very aptly invert the old saying of *Cicero*, *Iustissimum Bellum iniquissima Paci antefero*. That is, being a little paraphrased in *English*, I upon the whole matter conclude; That a most just War is to be preferred before a most unjust Peace, most dangerous to us, and all the rest of the *European Nations*.

F I N I S.

